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RESISTANCE TO SOCIAL INNOVA-
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REGARDING INNOVATIONS WHICH
HAVE PROVED SUCCESSFUL

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Victorious movements often record their histories; vanquished ones rarely do. A study of resistance to social innovations which afterwards proved successful is concerned with people who have been overcome by forces beyond their control and who not only usually failed to write their histories but tend to be chiefly remembered in an unfavorable light by their opponents. It is this neglected field of social change that the present study proposes to investigate, with the purpose of finding out who resisted certain changes, how they resisted them, and why.

Innovations in a given culture may be technological or social. Technological innovations--such as medical discoveries, improvements in transportation devices, building, communication, textile and agricultural machinery, and the development of metals and of power--are the product of man's struggle to overcome the difficulties of his material environment. Social inventions, on the other hand, are those devices of organization that primarily arise from the social structure of society. They may be new institutions to serve particular social needs, new laws to regulate the social order under changing conditions, new concepts that will later be expressed in government, institutions, or laws, or new adaptations in the ways of living and of acting.

Innovations are not necessarily new in an abstract sense. They may already be in existence in some areas of the culture and may spread to other areas, or may have been borrowed from another culture, or have existed previously within the culture. They may

be only a slight modification of an invention or an institution that is already a part of the culture. They are innovations because they are new in some particular situations.

Every proposed social change or innovation results in some disorganization of the social structure and also, if the change is adopted, in some further social organization or adjustment. Social organization exists when the interdependent individuals in a society are engaged in a form of concerted behavior, when their lines of activity are so oriented that they fall into a coordinated arrangement.¹ In social disorganization the divergences from the cultural pattern have upset the concerted behavior. Here conflicting values have replaced the common objectives, at least in some areas of activity, and the social body has temporarily lost its ability to re-establish concerted behavior.²

Those changes to which a society completely adapts itself may be considered to have only minor disorganizing influences. Innovations which are not fully adopted presumably increase social disorganization. The former type of change will here be called "successful changes" and the latter type "unsuccessful changes." Resistance to social change, as here used, is the actual opposition that appears to the proposed or actual adoption of innovations. Resistance to unsuccessful changes may be said to arise from those organizing forces of a society which desire to preserve or achieve social organization, while resistance which arises to successful changes, though it still springs from the organizing elements of a society, is tinged more closely with disorganization. If the change is clearly proved in the light of

¹Herbert Blumer, "Social and Individual Disorganization," American Journal of Sociology, XLII (May, 1937), 873.

²Ibid.

subsequent history to be successful, the resistance would seem to be more pathological with regard to those who resist than if the change were clearly unsuited to the cultural organization and the desires of the members of the society.

The present study is not directly concerned with a philosophical discussion of the concept of resistance in society, nor with the mechanical impediments to the diffusion of cultural traits, nor with non-conformity to existing customs, nor with social control,¹ but with the resistance that appears at certain times and places to particular social changes.

The objective of this study is to determine those factors which influence resistance to certain successful social innovations.² The cases selected for study are not stated in their entirety but only from the aspect of the opposition that appeared as a reaction to these social innovations.

Those social changes are selected which once aroused the interest of the public but now for the most part no longer do so. This limitation is important in increasing the possible objectivity of the study. The materials may reveal a considerable amount of controversy, a strong division of opinion, and heightened emotions, but the issues at stake have largely been settled and the emotions which these issues once aroused have died away. Should

¹Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 789. "What we ordinarily mean by social control. . . . is the arbitrary intervention of some individual--official, functionary or leader--in the social process."

²In one of the cases selected for research, it will be noted, the change was not successful, for the program for simplified spelling did not succeed. This case was added partly for contrast and partly to discover whether the process in successful resistance differed essentially from that of unsuccessful resistance. That a simplified spelling program is adaptable to the culture is indicated by the many changes which Noah Webster introduced into American usage, and therefore the case would seem to belong to the category of adaptable changes, even though the program of reforms covered in this study proved unsuccessful.

contemporary issues of a similar nature be selected, the author might be strongly accused, and perhaps quite rightly so, of bias in his selection of materials or his characterization of resistance. With the use of what may be called dead issues, on the other hand, both author and reader may view with the fairly cold impartiality of historical perspective the activities that the adoption of the change aroused. This selection, furthermore, throws into sharp outline a complete pattern of resistance, which is thus revealed to have not only a beginning and a growth but also an ultimate disintegration.

In order to facilitate a comparison of the data, this study has been limited to one general culture--the United States. A comparison of the resistance found in various cultures may require a considerable amount of description in order to indicate the significance within the respective cultures of the different items affected. The determination of the traditions affected and the depiction of different types of situations within a culture render the discussion clearer and more compact. A definite period (1848-1935) has been chosen to offer further homogeneity to the data.

Within these limitations the purpose of the present study is to develop criteria that influence the recorded resistance to selected social innovations which afterwards proved successful in the United States, 1845-1935. Other types of resistance, other forms of social change which arouse resistance, the resistance to social change that appears in other ages and other cultures and in other fields within the culture, as well as the resistance that appears in other selected cases within the field of the present study strictly are problems for further research.

CHAPTER III

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Stern's¹ work is more closely allied to the present research than are any of the other materials. Both are primarily concerned with resistance that has arisen to innovations which have proven successful. Both approach the problem with a direct analysis of cases of resistance and the use of recorded historical materials. The chief distinction between the two is that Stern was interested in scientific and technological fields while the present writer has turned to the field of social innovations. A second distinction is that Stern tended to limit his treatment to isolated reactions to innovations, while in the present study an effort has been made to include the social settings from which resistance arises.

The approach of the present study to the problem of the nature of resistance is similar to that used by Stern. Historical cases were selected for analysis and from them the criteria of resistance were drawn. The method used is essentially inductive. An effort was made to present the materials as simply and clearly and as fully as the various facilities permitted. From these materials the criteria of resistance have been evolved. From the materials and the classifications thus derived, hypotheses

¹Bernhard J. Stern, Should We Be Vaccinated? A Survey of the Controversy in Its Historical and Scientific Aspects (New York: Harper and Bros., 1927); Social Factors in Medical Progress (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927); "Resistance to the Adoption of Technological Innovations," Technological Trends and National Policy, Report to the National Resources Committee (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937).

concerning the nature of resistance may be developed.

In the selection of materials to be used for analysis in the following study, four preliminary limitations were placed upon the cases selected for research. In the first place a selection was made of historical cases far enough removed from the present day to allow a fair degree of objectivity for both author and reader. The materials may reveal a considerable amount of controversy, but the issues at stake have largely been settled and the emotions which these issues once aroused have died away. In the second place the cases were selected to be of sufficient social prominence to have produced written materials in sufficient volume for careful study and at the same time compact enough to be handled within the scope of the present study. Thirdly, the cases had to be of the type whose adaptability to the cultural setting of the society had been proved by their subsequent acceptance in society and by the fact that they no longer aroused the interest of the public. Finally, it was advisable to limit the cases to one cultural setting (the United States) and to one general period (1848-1935), to facilitate comparison of the data.

These limitations served as a frame within which the cases selected for analysis were chosen. Of the many thousands of possible cases suitable for the present research within this frame, the actual selection of cases was made on an exploratory basis. Several had to be rejected because of an apparent deficiency of adequate historical materials. For each example that was selected for study a preliminary survey was made to determine the extent of the literature available; and only those cases were chosen which seemed to have sufficient literature for careful examination. Even so, the author was forced from time to time to piece together scattered bits of evidence into a consistent pattern.

The selection of the first case was determined more by the

need of finding out what resistance occurred to a particular social change than from any intrinsic merit in this case as opposed to any of a number of others. The resistance that arose to the congressional Parcel Post Act of 1912, providing suitable literature which was easily accessible, was chosen as a convenient beginning to the research. The author constructed a bibliography on the subject and carefully went through every reference he could find in the available libraries. He gathered his materials from these references, continuing his research until it seemed to him that he had exhausted the available resources. The materials gathered were then classified into a simple arrangement for study (Chapter IV).

The choice of a second case was determined by the desirability of having a check upon the first case. It was advisable to have the second case as much like the first in its general outlines as possible, so that the findings of the two could be closely compared and a firmer basis for further progress could be established. The resistance that appeared to the passage of the congressional Postal Savings Act of 1910 was therefore chosen. The same procedure as in the first case was followed (Chapter V).

With the establishment of these two cases as a basis for further research, some variety in type from these two seemed desirable for the third case to be chosen. To avoid the possible false impression that all changes in the development of the United States postal functions were met by a type of resistance similar to those of the first two cases selected, and in order to move cautiously in the gathering of materials for the present study, the choice of the third case was made within the field of the postal functions but covered a different type from those previously studied. Because the resistance that appeared to the establishment of rural free delivery in the United States offered this contrast and also seemed fairly fully documented, it was chosen as the third

case. Materials were gathered and were simply arranged (Chapter VI).

The next three samples of resistance to social change were arbitrarily taken from widely differing fields. A case was selected from the field of fashion change (Chapter VII). The next case was chosen from the field of resistance to a change in a mechanical standard--simplified spelling (Chapter VIII). A third case was then added, of social resistance to scientific progress--the diagnosis of hookworm (Chapter IX).

For the final case to be chosen for the present study a wider range in time sequence and in scope was the determining factor in selection, the purpose being to check the findings of the previous cases against a larger setting. The resistance that occurred to woman suffrage in the United States (1848-1920) was chosen. The materials were gathered and again arranged simply for study (Chapter X).

With these seven cases the scope of the study was completed. Other cases from other fields in the social order of the same cultural setting, as well as cases from other cultural settings, could well have been added if the resources of the present study had permitted. Within this cultural setting some suitable additions might be: resistance to a change in the relationship between capital and labor; efforts to preserve a dying institution in the face of a changing social order; resistance to the secularization of a religious sect; resistance to the growth of a political party; resistance to the popular adoption of a mode of transportation or a machine; the reactionary parties in a revolution. These remain problems for future research.

Collection of Materials

In the field of resistance to social change the materials are often meager. Because the material as such is not found in written narrative accounts, it was necessary to turn to historical writings on social movements. In these historical materials certain inferences which are made about the phenomenon of resistance become our hypotheses of resistance. In general, the interest of historians has been on the growth of social movements that bring about social changes rather than in the nature of the factors that tend to retard social change. When a social change is accepted by a society the issues involved in its acceptance tend to be forgotten or remembered only by historians. Even the historians frequently take the resistance for granted and turn their attention to the difficulties encountered by social and political leaders in achieving the change. This emphasis results in dogmatic assertions about the nature of the resistance which are useless for careful research.

Primary sources, when available, were employed in this study. Some direct statements and reminiscences of participants and observers close to the actual situations were used. The hearings of congressional committees were used in some of the examples of resistance to social change. In these instances experts endeavored to get the facts by questioning participants in the movement who were under oath.

Because considerable historical materials provided the data for this study and because of their inherent complexity and volume, it is likely that some materials have been omitted which, in the opinion of the reader, may have significant bearing on the cases presented here. Painsstaking care has been employed, however, to accumulate sufficient evidence to warrant the use of the seven examples selected for this study.

The arrangement of the historical materials presented was determined by the nature of the materials within each of the examples selected. In some cases a narrative arrangement was used; in others the arrangement was topical. The topical arrangement was adopted when the sources came from one milieu or when the factors of resistance appeared relatively unchanged through a considerable period of time. In Part II the emphasis is placed on a presentation of materials, although discussions have been added in those instances where clarification seemed necessary. The implications of these cases will be considered in Part III.

CHAPTER IV

RESISTANCE TO THE PARCEL POST ACT OF 1912

The Selection of Cases from the Field of Government Function

In the field of government service, examples taken from the postal service seemed appropriate because of the volume of literature available and because of the readiness with which the various additions to the postal function lend themselves to treatment for the purposes of this study.

Government organizations, in the United States at least, display marked resistance to change. Existing structures are supported by rigid constitutional provisions; the sanction of long usage commands a higher public valuation than does adaptability to current needs.¹

Carroll H. Wooddy continues the above generalizations concerning government by saying that the functions of government tend to grow and that the assumption by the government of a new function does not necessarily imply the assent of the entire public.² Seligman has remarked that although there is opposition at the time when government assumes a new function, the opposition tends to die away and within a generation the general public usually comes to assume that this particular function of public service should naturally be performed by government.³

The United States Post Office presents historically the

¹Carroll H. Wooddy, "The Growth of Government Functions," Recent Social Trends (Student ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934), p. 1274.

²Ibid., pp. 1274-75.

³Edwin R. A. Seligman, classroom lectures on Public Finance, Columbia University, 1929-30.

steady growth of an institution from the couriers of colonial times to the extensive government organization of today. It is also the product of interaction with other national offices of the Universal Postal Union. In addition to the transmission of information by mail, the setting of postal rates for this service, and the establishment of agencies for the handling of the mail, most postal systems of the world include other, or ancillary, features. Among these are the following: parcel post, passenger post, postal money orders, postal telegraph, postal savings banks, postal collection of bills, postal telephone, postal wireless, the payment of small pensions, the granting of postal life insurance policies, the sale of cash certificates, the registration of births and deaths, the statistical canvass, the unemployment exchange, and, in some cases, the sale of quinine.¹ Some of these special features have been added to the functions of the United States Post Office, while others have not. Of the regular and special features which have been assumed, three are considered in the present study: parcel post; postal savings; and rural free delivery.

The Parcel Post Movement

The introduction of the parcel post in 1912 was prefaced by a long period of controversy. The proponents of the measure commonly declared that its prevention was caused by the express companies. Said John Wanamaker, postmaster general in the 1890's:

It is true that parcels could be carried at about one twelfth their present cost by the Post-Office Department, but you do not seem to be aware that there are four insuperable obstacles to the carrying of parcels by the United States Post-Office Department. The first of these is the Adams Express Company; the second is the American Express Company; the third is the Wells-Fargo Express Company; and

¹Pao H. Chu, The Post Office of the United States (2d ed.; New York: Privately printed, 1932), p. 95.

the fourth, the United States Express Company.¹

By 1908 there were two more large companies, the Pacific Express and the Southern Express.² These six carried 93 per cent of the parcels carried by express, thus dominating the parcel business of the country.³

In addition to agitation for parcel post, there were also movements for postal savings, postal telephone, and postal telegraph. These met the opposition of private corporations engaged in these various occupations.⁴

The Express Companies

The express companies were closely connected with the railroads; and the railroads, with large private corporations. The popular uprising against the high express rates and in favor of a cheaper government service gave rise to a belief that these vested interests were fighting the people.⁵ If they opposed parcel

¹Quoted by William D. P. Bliss, Encyclopaedia of Social Reform (new ed.; New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1908), p. 931. For a similar statement, see Annual Report of the Postmaster General of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1891 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 114. Roper attacks this statement by Wanamaker, declaring that there were "other reasons more fundamental why the United States was the last of the great nations to establish parcel post as an adjunct to its mail service." These were (1) the fundamental difference between mail and express, communication and transportation of material goods, and (2) organizational problems, the vast extent of the country and the difficulty of controlling the great number of postmasters at outlying points--making an express service a formidable proposition to a strictly postal establishment. Chu, op. cit., pp. 187-88.

²Bertram Benedict, The Express Companies of the United States: A Study of a Public Utility (New York: Intercollegiate Socialist Society, 1919), p. 10.

³Nathan Boone Williams, The American Post Office, Senate Documents, 61st Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 27.

⁴Bliss, op. cit., p. 931.

⁵A typical statement is the following: "Small wonder that the express companies are fighting with every resource against the parcels post. They constitute one of the greatest groups of

post, they did not do it openly.

Although representatives of the express companies appeared before the Senate Committee investigating parcel post legislation in 1912, they came only to answer questions on the operation of the express business. During the course of two of the interviews the following conversations occurred:

The Chairman: There is just one point that I would like to bring out before we close with this session of the committee. Have you any knowledge of your own, Mr. George, that

financial power in the country. They are united firmly. Most of the companies are large stockholders in the others. Thus the United States Express Company was shown by the report of the Public Service Commission of New York, issued in 1908, to be capitalized at \$10,000,000. Of this, the Adams Express Company owned nearly \$1,000,000, the American Express Company exactly \$1,000,000, and the Southern Express Company, \$70,000. How tremendously profitable the business of the United States Express Company has been is shown by the fact that whereas the company claimed an investment of only \$2,042,000 in real estate and equipment, it had \$7,464,000 in investments, \$895,000 in cash holdings, and \$2,000,000 in collateral and other loans! That is to say, while this company had very little more than \$2,000,000 in its transportation business, it had more than \$10,000,000 representing surplus and undivided profit, in general investments!

"It has accumulated such vast profits because it has been for many years charging such unconscionable and scandalous rates for its service.

"The Adams Express Company is shown by the current number of Moody's Manual to have \$12,000,000 capital. After paying large regular dividends and numerous extra dividends for many years, the company in 1907 found itself with such a tremendous surplus that it actually paid a special dividend of 200 per cent in 4-per-cent bonds. The present, of course, represented in part the excessive charges which the company has been permitted to collect from the public.

"But the most startling statistics of express accumulations are the financial statements of Wells Fargo and Company. . . . The company has always paid large dividends. Its star performance in this line was the payment, early in 1910, of a cash dividend of 300 per cent. Every holder of a one hundred dollar share of stock was given three hundred dollars in cash. . . .

"The express companies are large holders of one another's stock, and also of railway stock; in turn the men who control the great railway combinations are themselves big owners of express-company stocks and bonds. The express companies lease from the railroads the right to transport freight over the railroad lines. The terms of these leases represent, not a reasonable and fair charge for the service, but an elaborate project for covering up excessive earnings and extortionate charges in a maze of complicated intercorporation transactions." Hapton's Magazine, XXVI (February, 1911), 261-64.

the express companies here or the companies with which you are connected have tried to create, crystallize, or manufacture a sentiment against the enlargement of our present parcel post as represented under the fourth-class mail matter?

Mr. George /General Agent in Washington, D. C., for the Southern and Adams Express Companies/: Absolutely, no. I have never heard anyone speak of it.¹

The Chairman /to Mr. Johnson, Agent at Washington, D. C., of the United States Express Company/: Are you in a position to state whether your company is in favor of or is opposed to the Government increasing its present parcel-post activity by increasing the weight limit and decreasing the rate of postage?

Mr. Johnson: I have never heard an expression on that.

The Chairman: Matters of that kind would be handled, probably, in the way of opposition or support, through the legal department or the main office?

Mr. Johnson: Yes.²

These local agents denied any knowledge of anti-postal agitation on the part of their companies. Whether or not the companies did engage in such activities cannot be determined with certainty from the literature available to the writer.³

In 1901, while a bill was pending in Congress for the enlargement of parcel post service, a great many stereotyped circulars were sent to rural merchants all over the United States, urging them to protest against the postal bill and enclosing stereotyped petitions to be signed and sent to Congress and the President. President McKinley received a great many of them, and an effort was made to find out who printed them and sent them to the rural merchants. The attempt to determine the origin of these circulars failed.⁴ The forms sent to the government in Washington represented the first protest that retailers made to parcel post

¹U. S. Congress, Senate, Parcels Post, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Parcel Post of the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, U. S. Senate, under Senate Resolution 56, November, 1911-April, 1912 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 1200.

²Ibid., pp. 1228-29.

³For a discussion of the possible participation of the express companies, see below, pp. 201-2.

⁴Louis Melius, The American Postal Service: History of Postal Service from the Earliest Times (Washington: the author, 1917), p. 52.

legislation.

The Wholesalers and Retailers

The chief opposition to the final parcel post measure in the Senate and House Hearings came from the League of Associations, an organization that was founded in 1910 and had its headquarters in Chicago. It was an association of wholesalers "made up of members from Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Joseph, Buffalo, New York, Baltimore, and a number of other places."¹ Its membership was composed of some three hundred firms, and the purpose of the association, as stated by its secretary, was for "furthering the development of the home town, good roads, and everything which will tend to develop the country communities and towns and villages."² It was organized with vice presidents in each of the states where it had member firms.³ The following wholesale and trade organizations sent representatives to testify at the hearings:

The National Association of Retail Grocers of the United States, claiming 100,000 active members.⁴

The National Hardware Association of the United States; the National Wrought Pipe and Fittings Association; the National Plumbing Supply Association; the National Supply and Machinery Dealers' Association; these four national concerns claimed a membership of 900 wholesale houses doing business of about one million dollars each.⁵

¹Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 541-42.

²Ibid., p. 542.

³Ibid.

⁴U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Parcels Post, Hearings before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, April, 1910 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), pp. 219-32.

⁵U. S. Congress, House of Representatives, Parcels Post, Hearings before the Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, June, 1911 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 349.

The Affiliated Association of Presidents and Secretaries of Commercial and Trade Organizations; the Hardware Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Philadelphia; the Credit Bureau of the Tin Plate and Jobbers Association; Philadelphia Plumbing and Supply Association; the Leather Belt Manufacturers Association; Wholesale and Retail Hardware Joint Committee; the Philadelphia Wholesale House Furnishing Association.¹

The Philadelphia Commercial Organization; the Philadelphia Drug Exchange; Smith, Kline, and French Co., Wholesale Druggists, Philadelphia; the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.²

The Mississippi Valley Trades Co.; the largest wholesale houses of St. Louis, with seventy million capital and 2100 salesmen.³

National Federation of Retail Merchants, with 212,000 members.⁴

National Wholesale Dry Goods Association, representing ninety wholesale dry goods houses over the country.⁵

National Retail Hardware Association, with a membership of 14,000 firms.⁶

The National Shoe Wholesalers' Association.⁷

National Federation of Vehicle and Implement Dealers' Association; Tristate Vehicle and Implement Dealers' Association; and fourteen other constituent associations and 5100 vehicle dealers.⁸

The Wholesale jobbers of Kansas City.⁹

State Business Men's Association of Connecticut, claiming as members nearly all the leading business men in every town in

¹Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 403-60.

²Ibid., pp. 461-75.

³Ibid., pp. 495-512.

⁴Ibid., pp. 531-41.

⁵Ibid., pp. 513-30.

⁶Ibid., pp. 589-613. Also House of Representatives, Hearings on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911), pp. 290-99.

⁷Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 790-813.

⁸Ibid., pp. 614-26. Also House of Representatives, Hearings Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1910), pp. 264-74; House of Representatives, Hearings Subcommittee No. 4 of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911), pp. 216-26.

⁹Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 646-656.

the state of any size.¹

The Merchants' Association of Connecticut,² with a membership of forty or fifty large department stores.

The Baltimore Credit Men's Association--the credit offices of 480 of the Baltimore manufacturing and jobbing houses.³ The Baltimore Bargain House with thirty thousand merchant customers over the United States.⁴ The Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers of Baltimore.⁵ The Baltimore Drug Exchange.⁶

National Association of Retail Druggists,⁷ with a membership of 3500 druggists over the United States.

The Chamber of Commerce, the Board of Trade, and the Retailers' Association of Lynchburg, West Virginia.⁸

The wholesale jobbers of Chicago.⁹ The Iowa Retail Hardware Association.¹⁰ The Retail Hardware Merchants of Massachusetts.¹¹

The independence of the wholesalers from any direct influence of the express companies was emphatically stated by its secretary, Mr. Moon, at the House Hearings in June, 1911:

The American League of Associations is not connected in any way, form, or manner, directly or indirectly, with the express companies. . . . It is not affiliated, directly or indirectly, with the express companies in their opposition to parcels post.¹²

¹Ibid., pp. 671-92. House of Representatives, Hearings before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911), pp. 300-310.

²Ibid., pp. 703-18.

³Ibid., pp. 719-24.

⁴Ibid., pp. 725-27.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., pp. 728-35.

⁷Ibid., pp. 743-54. House of Representatives, Hearings before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1910), pp. 299.

⁸Ibid., pp. 1105-25.

⁹House of Representatives, Hearings before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1910), pp. 274-96.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 187-219.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 233-47.

¹²Ibid., 1911, p. 366.

He submitted to the Congressional committee a long list of the business houses that had contributed to the treasury of the League, and to the Senate Committee an auditor's statement showing the complete financial standing of the League and the amount and source of each of its contributions. There is no mention of express companies.¹

Reasons given by the wholesalers and retailers.--The first objection to the parcel post, according to the opinions of most of the wholesalers, was that it would benefit the large department stores in the cities and the mail order houses.² Both of these had superior facilities for advertising in the press and by mail because of their large capital resources.³ Their advertisements were often dishonest and misleading, intended to fool the buyer.⁴ To country people there was something magical about printed advertisements and catalogues, for they would buy something when they saw it in print although they would refuse it if they saw the actual article in a store.⁵

The department stores in the largest cities knew that an enlargement of the parcel post function would benefit them, for influential members of their firms made public statements that they favored it.⁶ The mail order houses likewise wanted it for selfish reasons. The Richmond Commercial Club, of Richmond, Indiana, in a resolution sent to Congress in 1908, said that one

¹Ibid., pp. 367 ff. Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 553-5, 739-40.

²Many references. Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 445, 449, 459-60, 704, 726-7, 729-30, 736-40, 741-2, 799-813, etc.

³Ibid., p. 552.

⁴Ibid., pp. 636-45, 693-7.

⁵Ibid., pp. 411, 434, 489, 741.

⁶Ibid., p. 332.

of the mail order houses would save \$40,000 on shipping its catalogues alone, to say nothing of the reduction in costs of its shipping of merchandise. No wonder they were for it.¹ When the objection was raised that apparently neither Sears, Roebuck and Company nor Montgomery Ward and Company had made any definite move in favor of parcel post, this was not believed.

Mr. Richardson [Of the National Association of Retail Druggists]: I do not blame the mail-order houses for wanting a parcels post, if it will benefit them.

The chairman [Senator Bourne]: Well, I do not know that they do. I have no knowledge, so far as I am concerned, and I speak for myself only, that the mail-order houses are in favor of a parcel post.

Mr. Richardson: Well, we are pretty well convinced that they are. That is our supposition, and we are convinced, and I think it would be hard to convince us to the contrary,² because they can see the advantages they will derive from it.

In 1911 the National Federation of Retail Merchants resolved that: "We believe that the agitation for the establishment of the parcel post emanates from sources and influences acting under cover and not from any great demand from the farming and other classes."³ Senator Bristow remarked during the hearings of

¹G. v L. Meyer, Data Relative to Proposed Extension of the Parcels Post, U. S. Congress, Senate, Senate Document 366, 60th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), p. 3. He stated that a saving of this kind was impossible.

²Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 752. When Mr. Thorne, general manager of Montgomery Ward, was asked at the Senate hearings if his company favored increasing the activity of the parcel post, he answered, "We find it just as hard for us to make up our minds on that point as the Senate Committee finds it, and are seeking information in every direction ourselves, so that we can arrive at a sane and more intelligent decision." When asked if his company had ever lobbied for it, he answered, "I never have. I do not know whether any other official of our company has or has not. I think not." (P. 883) President Frank B. Marsh of the Manufacturing Perfumers' Association, which favored parcel post, declared that Sears, Roebuck and Co. opposed it because they used 100 pound lots, and a parcel post would assist the local retailer more than it would them. (See William Sulzer, The People Demand a General Parcels Post [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911/.) On the other hand, Julius Rosenwald was quoted as having said that he favored parcel post, but his company had never contributed a penny to the campaign. Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 803.

³Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and

the Senate Committee:

I might say that the interests that have advocated [a parcel post], so far as my observation has gone, have not been the mail order houses; they may be in favor of it, but I haven't any evidence of that here, except what appears in the hearing from the retail merchant, he fearing that they desire it.¹

Although the two principal mail order houses relied upon the freight service for most of their shipments (even to the extent that one of them was reported to be opposed to parcel post legislation because it would not use parcel post service) lowering the rates of parcel post and raising the weight limit from four pounds to eleven pounds would result, it was thought by the merchants, in flooding the country with merchandise shipped by mail, to the great disadvantage of the poor country merchant who relied upon rural free delivery already in existence.²

The country merchant was thought to be already in a poorer condition than the farmer, for a retired country storekeeper was hard to find while there were many retired farmers.³ His business was believed hurt through the theory that there was a felling of resentment of the farmers toward him.⁴ He was already decreasing in numbers as a result of the growth of mail order houses.⁵

Post Roads (1911-12), p. 525.

¹Ibid., pp. 731-2.

²Ibid., p. 672.

³Ibid., pp. 561-2. Mr. Moon declared that in Iowa there were eighteen retired farmers to one retired merchant.

⁴Ibid., pp. 636, 819. "In the United States to-day there is the severest tension of feeling between the retail merchants and the farmers. The prejudice of our farmers against our local merchants is something that to-day is alarming to every man who gives the question a study."--Editor, Merchants' Trade Journal. This feeling was denied by the master of the Pennsylvania State Grange, who declared that with few exceptions there existed only a feeling of friendliness on the part of the farmers toward the retail merchant in his state and in others.

⁵Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 549.

With his limited resources he could not compete with the pressure methods of the large department stores and the mail order houses. His advertising must be honest, for his patronage was limited and continuous.¹

Not only would parcel post injure the merchants, according to these wholesalers and retailers, but it would also handicap the government. If the government enlarged the parcel post function the result would undoubtedly be an increase in the annual deficit of the post office department,² because this country is not compact, as England, for instance, but spread out with a thin population. Mail is not heavy but parcels are merchandise, and therefore distance counts.³ More than that, the present equipment of the post offices over the United States is not adequate to handle the tremendous volume of business parcel post would bring.⁴ The work would be so arduous that the postmasters would demand an increase in salary.⁵ The express companies would take the profitable business and leave the unprofitable long hauls to the government. All this would be unfair to the retailers because the postal deficit comes out of the general taxes of the country and the retailers would be paying taxes to support the postal business of their

¹Ibid., p. 704.

²Ibid., pp. 454-5. Charles William Burrows, "The Postal Laws of the United States as Related to Business Interests" (Delivered before the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of Pittsburgh, June 6, 1905).

³Burrows, "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail Rates, and Parcel Post" (Address before the National Retail Hardware Association, 1911). Hearings . . . Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 741-2, 791-2.

⁴New York City would need 100 times as much space for its post office as it can get at present. Burrows, "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail, and Parcel Post," op. cit., pp. 20-21; Meyer, op. cit., p. 31.

⁵Burrows, "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail, and Parcel Post," op. cit., p. 21.

rivals, the mail order houses.¹ The merchant operating in his little locality could not take as much advantage of the parcel post as the mail order houses or the farmers who sell direct, but he would be the one to be hurt by it.²

The small towns are the heart of America, the basis of American morality and prosperity--the little community, the little church, the little school. The retail merchant supports the small town. He holds the community together by linking its parts with the great sources of supply and consumption.³ If parcel post were established in the United States thousands of these store-keepers would be faced with bankruptcy.

The minute Congress enacts a parcel-post law and it goes into effect we are going to see a flood of mail-order business in this country, and it is my candid opinion that it will bring about a panic in commercial circles.⁴

As the merchants close their shops, the banks will be hurt, real estate prices will go down, the population in the small towns will decrease, and even farm values will depreciate.⁵

¹Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 672. Mr. Wells of the Connecticut State Business Men's Association.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., p. 704. "The general merchant doing business in the smaller towns and rural communities of the United States is in a class entirely apart from the 'shopkeeper' of Europe, and to his independence, individuality, ingenuity, and thrift, much of the phenomenal development of our country is due. He assembles merchandise from all sections of the world and distributes it at fair prices to his neighbors, and in turn buys the products of the farm for cash or its equivalent, shipping in wholesale lots to the city, thus performing a twofold function for his community, while being identified with every influence which makes for the betterment of his section." Delegate from the Baltimore Credit Men's Association.

⁴Ibid., p. 635. Editor of the Merchants' Trade Journal.

⁵Ibid., pp. 546-7. "We believe that a parcel post would work a hardship on the villages, small towns, and the smaller cities of the country, because it will take away the business of the retail merchants in them. . . . With such a result, capital would be withdrawn; the banks, the churches, and the schools would be correspondingly affected; the army of commercial travelers

There will also be social dangers. The initiative and independence of the hamlets will be destroyed.¹ The farmer will stay at home instead of coming to town, preferring to get his supplies by mail, according to the editor of the Merchants' Trade Journal:

You say that this is an imaginary condition, but it is not. I have seen such conditions come from the establishing of rural free delivery. When the post office was taken away, the incentive to come to the store was gone. The blacksmith shop, once a busy place, is silent. The cobbler sits alone in his shop, and the church, once a power in the community, is going to decay. With the store and the post office gone, there is no reason for the existence of the hamlet.²

The farmer will no longer receive the blessings of social contact. Suffering from isolation, he will sink to the level of a "shiftless, backwoods population" that will replace the "live and thriving towns and hamlets throughout our country today."³ Since the farmer will buy by mail without seeing the actual products, he will buy only what he needs, and therefore he will buy less; "this one thing would, in the course of 90 days, put factories out of business; it would throw thousands of employees out of work; it would stop freight trains."⁴ In turn it would affect the prices of farm products, "and in the end come right back and hurt the farmer--the very man the parcels post is supposed to benefit."⁵

would cease their frequent visits; the hotel keepers, and the liverymen would find their business seriously depleted; and no doubt many of these would move to the larger centers of trade." Secretary of the League of Associations, See also ibid., pp. 699, 726, 729-30, 736-40, 741-2, 595, 704.

¹Ibid., p. 433.

²Ibid., p. 525. Representative of the National Hardware Association.

³Ibid.; see also p. 751. Resolution of the National Retail Merchants' Association.

⁴Ibid., p. 628. Editor of the Merchants' Trade Journal.

⁵Ibid.

The population of the country will tend to crowd into the cities, with the evils attendant thereto.¹ As the small town stores are wiped out, "the young people who were employed in them [are] forced into the big department stores under conditions which have not resulted in their good or the good of the community."²

The passage of this bill would result in national calamity, said the president of Smith, Kline, and French, wholesale druggists, Philadelphia:

The opinion of our officers is that the introduction of a parcel post would be the most injurious piece of legislation ever enacted by Congress.³

R. A. McCormick of McCormick and Co., Manufacturers said:

The question of a parcel post is such a great one that it affects the whole country to such an extent that personally it is appalling to me.⁴

A representative of the National Retail Hardware Association stated:

We regard it as the most dangerous bill yet presented to Congress.⁵

Another comment was made by the president of Dunham, Carrigan, and Hayden Co., San Francisco:

What is a reasonable law? Certainly you cannot consider as reasonable--one that disturbs the business interests of the country so widespread that it will become a disaster.⁶

Although the purpose of the proposed bill was only to lower the rates slightly and increase the weight limit of parcels

¹Ibid., p. 433.

²Ibid., p. 550.

³Ibid., p. 462.

⁴Ibid., p. 728.

⁵House of Representatives, Hearings before the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1910), p. 180.

⁶Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 455.

by seven pounds, its significance lay in the fact that it was a beginning of something that could grow, said the editor of the Merchants' Trade Journal:

If we are to increase our mail facilities to carry packages of 11 pounds, I cannot see why we can not, with the same reasoning, increase the mail until the Government is really in the merchandise-carrying business in earnest.¹

The secretary of the National Hardware Association of the United States asked angrily:

Why stop at 11 pounds? Why not make it 22, or 44, or 66?²

Eventually this would lead to the extension of government control, declared the secretary of the National Association of Retail Grocers:

If the Government should handle the parcel post business for less than the express companies can properly do it under strict regulation, it would be interfering with private business. . . . If the Government wishes to go into it, they should go into it in such a way as not to interfere with any private enterprise.³

A resolution of a Baltimore commercial firm read:

We are opposed to the parcel post--

Because it is directly contrary to the established policy of the United States Government not to interfere with any well regulated business.

Because it commits the Government to a policy of acting as a common carrier of goods, and establishes a precedent for further enlargement in scope of service to freight, express, and individuals; and, through government control, leads by natural process to Government ownership of transportation systems, with all the ensuing evils.⁴

According to the secretary of the American League of Associations:

We look with anxiety and with disapproval upon socialistic and paternalistic legislation. . . . Already the Government is building its own warships, recently it has entered the field of banking in competition with our savings banks, and it is now proposed that it shall go into the express business

¹Ibid., p. 633.

²Ibid., p. 456. See also pp. 633, 663, 729, etc.

³Ibid., p. 433.

⁴Ibid., p. 729. See also p. 456.

under the guise of a parcel post. It has expressed a favorable inclination toward operating the coal mines of Alaska. . . . We believe that the time has come when the Government must cease to engage in various enterprises. Otherwise, individual effort is a failure, and socialism is the true principal of Government. . . . We believe that to establish a parcel post would prove the last step toward Government ownership with all its attendant evils and dangers.¹

The president of the One Cent Letter Postage Association said:

This whole agitation is simply a move toward state socialism.²

Therefore we see that, according to many of the wholesalers who sent representatives to Washington to protest against the bill, socialism would be the end result of its passage.

In spite of the opinion that an increase of the parcel post to eleven pound packages would ultimately bring disaster to the country, most of the wholesalers' delegates were willing to tolerate, or were in favor of, the then-existing regulation that permitted parcels up to four pounds in weight. The following statements were typical:

Our organization [The National Association of Retail Grocers] is opposed--I think you know that--to any parcel-post legislation. . . . I will change my statement to say that we are opposed to any increased parcel-post legislation. Leave the legislation as it is. We did not wish and do not wish to interfere with what is.³

We [The National Association of Retail Druggists] think the conditions today are all right, and I think we have a good mail service. We believe in limiting it, however, to four pounds, as it is to-day. We think that covers nearly everything that should be sent through the mails.⁴

A few, however, believed that even the four pound limit was wrong.⁵ Those who were professionally interested in the

¹Ibid., pp. 543-5.

²Burrows, "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail, and Parcel Post," op. cit., p. 24.

³Hearings . . . Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 405.

⁴Ibid., p. 743.

⁵Ibid., p. 547. Mr. Moon, for instance, of the League of Associations.

wholesalers' associations themselves were more likely to go the whole way in their opposition to parcel post than the average member. Occasionally a member needed to be converted from an original position of approval, and even then he was likely to be half-hearted.¹ When one of the delegates used as an argument against parcel post the injury he believed that rural free delivery had done to the small towns, he was asked if he would abolish it. "No," he answered, "the rural free delivery is settled, and there is no use condemning it."²

The statements of these business men before the Congressional hearings ring with sincerity. Frequently they said that if theirs was the only class to suffer from the passage of this bill and if the country at large would benefit, they would not stand in the way. Their position was that the whole country would suffer.³ When one declared his belief that all the villages, small towns, and small cities would eventually be severely damaged by the passage of the bill, he was asked, "You certainly believe that would happen if the size of the package would increase to eleven pounds?" He answered, "Yes, sir." Then, "You state that with all seriousness to the committee?" "I do; yes, sir."⁴

The Commercial Travelers

Closely associated with the wholesalers' associations were those of the traveling men. The United Order of Commercial Travelers of America,⁵ the Travelers' and Merchants'

¹Ibid., pp. 729 ff.

²Ibid., p. 292. Mr. Bogardus of the National Hardware Association.

³Ibid., pp. 187, 630.

⁴Ibid., p. 547.

⁵Ibid., pp. 476-86. House of Representatives, Hearings before Subcommittee No. 4 on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911), pp. 311-16.

Association,¹ the United Commercial Travelers of America,² and the Travelers' Protective Association³ passed resolutions against the parcel post bill at their conventions and sent representatives to Washington to protest against it.

These representatives came simply to report what they had been told. They believed that the bill would injure the retail merchants and therefore would injure them. A resolution of a branch of the United Order of the Travelers of America stated:

If the small merchants are forced out of business, as we believe they will be if a general parcel-post law is enacted, it will gradually eliminate the commercial traveler. That, briefly, is our reason for opposing the passage of this bill.⁴

The representative of the United Commercial Travelers of America said:

We have heard a good many views here this morning about protecting the retail merchants, but we wish to protest against the passage of this bill on our own behalf, because we believe that it will put over half of us out of business.⁵

Under questioning these representatives quickly became confused. When one of them was asked if he could "demonstrate" his position, he answered, "No, sir; I can not, to be honest with you."⁶ Another reported at the close of his statement that he was simply giving his opinion and that he did not want to tell the government what to do, for it had men "who have made this a study for years and can give figures and all those things."⁷

¹Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 728-35.

²Ibid., pp. 736-40.

³Ibid., pp. 741-2.

⁴Ibid., p. 477.

⁵Ibid., p. 736.

⁶Ibid., p. 477.

⁷Ibid., p. 752.

The One-Cent Letter Postage Association

The One-Cent Letter Postage Association also opposed parcel post legislation. It was sponsored by a number of business houses and was ardently supported by a Mr. Charles W. Burrows of Cleveland, Ohio, a book publisher and bookseller for many years.¹ The chief purpose of the association was to get the government to adopt the principle that each branch of the mail service should pay its own way.² As first class mail was carried at a profit and as in the past the first class mail rate had been lowered through a succession of steps from 1845 to 1883, thus setting a tradition, the time was now ripe to declare a first-class postage rate of one cent. The chief object of attack of the association was the second class mailing privilege for newspapers and magazines, for the following reasons:

1. The second class mail law of 1874 had created a deficit in postal expense and therefore prevented a one-cent rate.³

2. The second class mail had furthered the growth of magazines at the expense of the book trade. Cheap fiction had replaced the sale of good books to the extent that the number of

¹Ibid., pp. 790-813, and the following pamphlets: "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail Rates, and Parcel Post," "Parcels Post," "Further Thoughts on Parcels Post," "The Postal Laws of the United States," and the article, "Parcels Post" in Freight, IX (March, 1908), 45-6.

²Ibid., p. 615. This concept was frequently mentioned in the Senate hearings on parcel post. The National Federation of Retail Implement and Vehicle Dealers' Associations resolved in Chicago in October, 1911: "We favor penny postage and believe the present postal laws are unjust, in so far as the high rate is maintained on first-class matter and the lower classes are carried at such rates as are a loss to the postal department. We believe the postal department should be self-sustaining, but that each classification should sustain itself." When the chairman of the Senate Committee asked the secretary of the Association, "You use the first-class mail very extensively, and you would rather have one-cent postage than two-cent postage?" he answered, "Exactly."

³Burrows, "One Cent Letter Postage, Second Class Mail Rates, and Parcel Post," op. cit., pp. 2-9.

booksellers in the United States had diminished by two-thirds since the passage of the act, and our country was far behind most civilized nations of the world in the proportion of new books published to the population.¹

3. These magazines attacked big business.² They made

. . . . a questionable pretense of exposing public abuses careless of the implicit libel on the nation at large contained in such articles. . . . calling attention shriekingly to the graft of the packing houses, of the patent medicine manufacturers, of the Wall Street gang, the Standard Oil System, and the Amalgamated Copper "Skindicate."³

They were a graft themselves, since they were carried at the expense of the government and made huge profits from advertising. And business, which paid for most of the first class mail at the rate of eighty-four cents a pound, was paying huge postage bills in order to support these hostile, "dishonest" magazines.⁴

4. The magazines were for parcel post because they wanted to create a bigger market for their advertisers through mail order appeals. Thus they could increase their profits. A rise in second class mailing rates would drive many of them to bankruptcy and thus decrease the cost for business of advertising, since there would be fewer magazines.⁵

¹Burrows, "Postal Laws of the United States as Related to Business Interests" (Address delivered before the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Pittsburgh, June 6, 1905), pp. 5-6. Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 792-99.

²For a description of the contents of magazines from 1900 to 1911 see The Era of the Muckrakers, by C. C. Regier (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932). According to Upton Sinclair in Money Writes (New York: A. and C. Boni, 1927) the business houses used more direct ways of silencing the magazine protests than through a one-cent postage movement.

³Burrows, "One Cent Postage, Second Class Mail Rates, and Parcel Post," op. cit., pp. 2-3.

⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵Burrows, "Postal Laws of the United States as Related to Business Interests," op. cit., pp. 21-24.

Since the parcel post was bound to be operated at a loss by the government, the postal deficit would be further increased. This would serve to support the deficit already incurred by the second class mail, and would make the possibility of a one-cent rate for first class mail still more remote.¹ Therefore the parcel post measure was fought by the One Cent Letter Postage Association.² Its president, Mr. Burrows, was also active in the League of Associations,³ which represented the wholesalers and retailers.

A great deal of the opposition was caused by misinformation or misunderstanding of what was being proposed. This was natural, as there were many bills put before Congress for parcel post reform. Although Senator Bourne's bill, which finally became law, was based on the zone system, opponents were fighting the flat rate for parcel post, claiming that distance of carriage would not raise the rate. There were also other errors.⁴

Another source of intense opposition came from the statements of the advocates of parcel post. For many of them the

¹"Where the true study of our postal authorities should be to simplify and expedite the mail service, and ultimately provide a one cent letter rate, the inevitable tendency of both propositions for parcels post and postal express must be to complicate and retard it through handling matter extraneous to the fundamental purpose of the postal service." Slason Thompson, Postal Express vs. Parcel Post: A Review of Congressman D. J. Lewis's Bill Proposing that the Government Take over the Express Business (Chicago: Bureau of Railway News and Statistics, 1911), p. 14.

²Ibid., pp. 14 ff.

³Hearings . . . Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), pp. 790-91.

⁴David J. Lewis, An Adequate Postal Express Service, U. S. Congress, Senate, Senate Document 379, 62d Cong. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912); G. v L. Meyer, Data Relative to Proposed Legislation, U. S. Congress, Senate, Senate Document 366, 60th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 3. Ibid., pp. 405, 448, 700, 740, etc.

question was simply one of rates.¹ Others declared that it would reduce the high cost of living in the cities by building up a heavy "farm-to-table" movement in which "a line in the local paper would inform the consumer as to prices and the producer; and a postal card or telephone call would inform the producer of the consumer's wants."² This direct selling from farmer to city dweller would eliminate the middleman--the local retailer. Another statement was that a cheap parcel post, by making direct selling easy, would enable consumers to break up any effort on the part of business men to fix prices.³ Up to the final passage of the bill, Congressman Lewis conducted a strong campaign to have a postal express provision added to it, but was unsuccessful.⁴ Naturally these various movements aroused the opposition. Senator Bryan remarked during the Senate hearings:

The farmers have been educated to believe, outside of thinking on their part, a parcel post would be a panacea for all their ills. On the contrary the organizations have also adopted resolutions in opposition to it, not doing their own thinking, but allowing their leaders and other organizations to do their thinking for them.⁵

¹Senator Oodiah Gardner, Letter to the People of the United States, U. S. Congress, Senate, Senate Document 490, 62d Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 1.

²Lewis, op. cit., pp. 54-5. See also Gardner, op. cit., p. 3. Following the enactment of the bill, for several years the government tried to encourage such a movement.

³Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 639.

⁴Benedict, op. cit., p. 12.

⁵Hearings Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads (1911-12), p. 615.

CHAPTER VII

RESISTANCE TO A CHANGE IN FASHION:

THE ADOPTION OF BOBBED HAIR AMONG WOMEN, 1921-1926

Note on Fashion Change

Because fashion changes are popularly believed to differ so widely in their forms and motivations from changes in other realms of society, it may be well to present a theory of fashion change before making a detailed study.

In the United States the study of the nature of fashion has not been given the importance that French writers accord it.

Most writers simply acknowledge, somewhat reluctantly, its power, as with Sumner,¹ or use it to illustrate or to test a theory of social change, as with Ross² or Kroeber.³

There has been a tendency to describe changes in fashion as if they were controlled by fashion alone and had no relationship to the social order. Kroeber developed a cyclical theory of fashion changes based on a study of the length and breadth of women's skirts. Pierson in his study of men's beards came to the conclusion that fashion change is periodic or recurrent rather than cyclical.⁴ He suggested that Kroeber's theory was based on a

¹William Graham Sumner, Folkways (New York: Ginn and Co., 1906).

²Edward A. Ross, Social Psychology (New York: Macmillan Co., 1908-1929).

³A. L. Kroeber, "On the Principle of Order in Civilization," American Anthropologist, XXI (July-September, 1919), 235-63.

⁴Robert D. Pierson, "A Study of Fashion Movement as Reflected in Beard Patterns" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1933), p. 49.

two-dimensional example, for skirts must be either narrow or wide, short or long.¹ The most careful study of fashion change yet made to date is Recurring Cycles of Fashion by Agnes Brooks Young.² Mrs. Young determined typical yearly fashions in women's clothing by taking the modal form from fifty samples each of skirt, waist, sleeve, collar, cuffs, and belt for every year from 1760 to 1937. These she arranged in a series of diagrams, one for each year, and concluded from her study that women's fashions are cyclical, each cycle lasting from thirty to forty years.³ She declared that the changes have always been in regular order; first, the "full-backness", or bustle, style; then "tubular," or straight-cut dresses; and finally, "bell-shaped" or hoopskirts, each lasting roughly a generation before the appearance of the next.⁴ Although she began her study with the intention of discovering a relationship between women's fashions and the business cycle, at its conclusion she was positive that no relationship existed.⁵ There is no escaping the generalization, she writes, that fashion changes are cyclical.⁶

¹Ibid., p. 4.

²New York: Harper and Bros., 1937.

³Ibid., p. 7.

⁴Ibid., p. 10. "The conclusion which was borne in upon one who walked back and forth in front of the tables on which were arranged the pictures showing the typical fashions for the 178 years was that the only really major fashion changes were those in the types of skirts. This was clear in spite of the fact that change of some sort was continuous, and constantly bringing about such alterations as that of sleeves from long and tight to short and full, or neck lines from deep v-shaped to high, or repeated shifts in the waist line. Moreover, during this entire span of years there had been only three of these skirt types."

⁵Ibid., p. 41. "The remarkable fact was that the cycles in their order and development, far from being the product of economic change, rose superior to and disregarded all the upheavals of panics and prosperity brought on by wars, revolutions, and the developments of the machine age."

⁶Ibid., p. 10.

Paul Nystrom, the ablest writer on fashion merchandising, counsels the trade never to attempt to control fashion changes, for such attempts usually result in financial loss.¹ He says that "there is a definite orderliness of rise, of culmination and decline, a wave-like movement so regular, in fact, that it may be readily traced and even predicted with a fair degree of accuracy."² He suggests that the designers, manufacturers, and distributors, discover the trends of fashion by making a numerical survey of the popularity of styles in public places at periodic intervals and closely following popular favor.³ He infers that for all practical purposes fashion change is beyond control.

It is interesting to notice, however, that the cycles of change studied by Mrs. Young and by Kroeber both lie within a limited area. The area was the dress form customary in the western world. It was only within this form that variation occurred. It is also interesting to observe that the modal form for any one year was a composite of many wide variations, and that ornamentation, for instance, offered such a range of variation that even a modal form could not be chosen.⁴

Before the Industrial Revolution men appear to have initiated new fashions and to have carried them to greater extremes of exaggeration than women.⁵ They were in general the fashion leaders, but with the flowering of capitalism they surrendered their leadership in fashion changes. Whereas the range of style change had formerly been extensive both in cut and in color, with the rise

¹Paul Nystrom, The Economics of Fashion (New York: Ronald Press, 1928); Fashion Merchandising (New York: Ronald Press, 1932).

²Nystrom, Fashion Merchandising.

³Ibid.

⁴Young, op. cit., p. 38.

⁵Ibid., p. 185.

business and the professions the range grew very much more restricted until the male attire approached the rigidity of a uniform. Style changes are slow and generally so subtle that they can often be detected only by experts.¹

Men became so absorbed in business and the professions that their status in society was no longer determined by their appearance but rather by their occupations and achievements. The beau of the eighteenth century looked down on the business man, but in the nineteenth century the situation was reversed. After the passing of feudalism women learned to judge men by their economic abilities and to view lightly their appearance. All that became required of a man in the fashion world was that he conform to existing patterns and keep himself clean and reasonably neat. Conformity to existing styles stifles fashion changes.

Women, tied down to their homes, were slower to leave feudalistic society than were men. They were denied economic activities, except of a low order, and they were dependent for their position in society on the economic status of their husbands or their male relatives. They became increasingly responsible for the social contacts of their families and the entertainment of men. As the chief way in which they could gain distinction lay in their personal appearance, it was natural for them to continue and even to increase the interest in fashion that men had abandoned.²

In the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries only

¹Ibid.

²Edward Sapir, "Fashion," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VI (1931), p. 142. "Woman as a distinctive theme for fashion may be explained in terms of the social psychology of the present civilization. She is the one who pleases by being what she is and looking as she does rather than by doing what she does Among the wealthier classes and by imitation also among the less wealthy, woman has come to be looked upon as an expensive luxury on whom one spends extravagantly. She is thus a symbol of the social and economic status of her husband."

the women of the privileged upper class had the leisure and the money to enable them to be interested in keeping up with the fashions.¹ Those of the lower classes worked too hard and had too little cash to do much more than to imitate their betters. As mechanical contrivances in the home and outside home services improved, and as communication, transportation, and distributive agencies built up a rapid and fairly inexpensive service system, the interest in fashion spread. It has increased enormously in recent years.²

As long as women must depend on their appearance and social grace for distinction in society we must expect them to seek constant variation in their clothing. Where a man may be pleased to see another dressed exactly like himself as an indication that his own taste is justified, a woman who finds herself possessed of a dress or a hat identical with her friends' shows very real distress.³ It is probably the constant desire for variation that causes women's fashions to differ so widely within one year and the modal form for each year to change into the three cycles that Mrs. Young describes. Through a century all the possible variations within the cultural form are explored.⁴

¹The Industrial Revolution threw women out of jobs. This domestic revolution was accomplished by transferring a large share of home crafts and domestic industries to factories. Cf. Lorine Pruette, Women and Leisure (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1924), p. 4. Mabel Agnes Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganization (New York: Harper and Bros., 1934).

²Elizabeth B. Hurlock, The Psychology of Dress: An Analysis of Fashion and Its Motive (New York: Ronald Press, 1929), p. 3. "In the past, fashion reserved its rule for the wealthier classes, and the poorer people were little affected by it. Now its influence is felt everywhere. . . . The Americans as a nation are perhaps the most ardent votaries of fashion that the world has ever known." See also Nystrom, Fashion Merchandising, p. 31.

³Young, op. cit., p. 186.

⁴See p. 84.

With the increasing employment of women in economic activities, however, we must expect a direct adjustment to the conditions under which they work.¹ No longer are they judged in the business world by their appearance alone, but their performance plays an ever increasing part. In the words of Simmel, they become no longer motivated by the desire for individual difference within the fashion form, but they emphasize the assurance that men want in following a form that others have.² They develop business costumes that are fairly standard. The automobile and other methods of convenient and cheap transportation together with a great many types of recreation made accessible by recent inventions have tremendously widened the scope of women's activities outside the home and the social circle.³

The styles in clothing of the twentieth century do not simply follow a recurring cycle of fashion, but are also a direct adjustment to the social conditions under which women have to live. Long hair is difficult to manage on bathing beaches and under the pressure of much out-door travel on windy days--travel motivated by business or social pressure. Heavy hats were a great handicap in the days of open touring cars. Long and voluminous skirts were dangerous for quick entrance and exit from street buses, or for driving one's own car.⁴ One cannot drive a car if one wears a bustle or a hoop skirt. Should these fashions return, it is likely that a further differentiation will be made in women's clothing between day and evening styles, the business suit and

¹Elizabeth Sage, A Study of Costume (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), pp. 214-16.

²Georg Simmel, Philosophie der Mode (Berlin: Pan-Verlag,

³Ibid., p. 218.

⁴Wilfred M. Webb, The Heritage of Dress (London: Times Book Club, 1912), p. 267.

the evening gown.

Selection of the Case

It is in the field of social adjustment rather than in simple cyclical change that a case for definite analysis should be chosen to fit in with the general plan of this study. The choice is naturally very wide. A chance remark dropped by a professor in the course of a conversation while this study was in progress suggested an analysis of the coming of bobbed hair in the early 1920's. This example seemed to serve as well as any other, having the advantage that it did not directly concern American concepts of physical modesty, as would a study of low neck lines, short skirts, bathing costumes, or the elimination of corsets and petticoats. All the available magazines of the period and the files of one metropolitan newspaper supplied the materials. A topical arrangement was best suited to the natural order into which the material grouped themselves.

The Movement

Modern American women were not the first in history to have shortened their hair. A female mummy in the Pennsylvania Commercial Museum, buried in Thebes over two thousand years ago, revealed short curly hair.¹ In 1620 in London a book protested against the current fashion of "most ruffianly short lockes".² Short hair was popular among women in the days of Charles I.³ A favored French style at the opening of the nineteenth century was the "coiffure a la Titus," in which a few long locks on the

¹New York Times, August 9, 1922, p. 1, col. 7.

²New York Times, August 24, 1924, Sec. II, p. 4, col. 7.

³Carrie A. Hall, From Hoopskirts to Nudity (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1938), p. 168.

forehead were emphasized by the remainder of the hair being clipped close to the head.¹ German girls sold their hair for funds for the Napoleonic war in 1813.² In the 1870's heavy bangs were in style, and ten years later Sarah Bernhardt is said to have started a vogue of short tousled hair.³

So recently had the style of short hair for women been in favor that a writer for the New York Times in 1921 declared that there were people who looked upon bobbed hair "as a revival of the fashion of more romantic days than ours."⁴ For most Americans, however, the style was distinctly new and came with something of a shock.

Just when the present fashion of bobbed hair was started is uncertain. Before the World War it is said that Mrs. Irene Castle began the fad by shortening her hair for greater convenience while bathing at her summer home.⁵ Her style of coiffure was known as the "Castle Clip" and was widely known and somewhat imitated. That there were others who bobbed their hair in the years immediately preceding the War is indicated by Signor Pietro Raspanti, a New York hairdresser who declared that he had sheared off the hair of the first woman to start the mode--before Irene Castle had shortened her hair.⁶ One fashion writer believes that "the first fearless ones who cut their hair en masse were the artists of Greenwich Village" in New York City.⁷ These women had

¹Herbert Norris and Oswald Curtis, Costume and Fashion (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1933), VI, 26.

²New York Times, June 21, 1925, Sec. II, p. 1, col. 3.

³Norris and Curtis, op. cit., p. 26.

⁴New York Times, Sept. 4, 1921, Sec. VI, p. 6, col. 2.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., July 27, 1924, Sec. VII, p. 10, col. 1.

⁷Virginia Pope, "Bobbing Spreads to all Ages of Women," New York Times, May 11, 1924, Sec. IX. p. 2, cols. 7-8.

the reputation of being unconventional in more ways than hair styles and were generally treated with distrust. Mrs. Castle made a better figurehead.

The mode spread during the war years, when nurses and civilian workers were too busy to spend the time necessary for putting up their tresses each morning, keeping them in order during the day, and curling them at night.¹ After the War there came a period of quiet in the history of the style, when many of the women who had cut theirs allowed the hair to grow again. Suddenly in the spring and summer of 1921 the fashion attracted public attention, and almost overnight it became a subject of controversy.²

Bobbed hair came in with shorter skirts, straight lines in dresses, and simplicity in hats.³ It was associated in the minds of many people with an increase in rouge, lipstick, and face powder, dyed hair; sheer silk stockings, a swaggering walk and bold posturing; the popularization of post-war "jazz" music and new styles of dancing; late unchaperoned parties, drinking and smoking for women; reckless driving of motorcars, a franker attitude toward sex and more physical familiarity; sudden and often regrettable marriages, and a general defiance of authority. It was a symbol of "the modern flapper, with her sophisticated air, her 'Ponjola' bob, her painted lips and cheeks, her tight, short dress, with low neck and short sleeves, and her high-heeled, cut-out slippers."⁴ It was also linked with the political views of the artists of Greenwich Village:

If you have forgotten what the general public thought of short hair in those days, listen to the manager of the Palm

¹Ibid.

²The Index of the New York Times does not refer to bobbed hair until the summer of 1921, when there are a number of citations Public attention was aroused suddenly.

³Pope, "Bobbing Spreads to All Ages of Women," op. cit.

⁴Sage, op. cit., p. 216.

Garden in New York when reporters asked him, one night in November, 1918, how he happened to rent his hall for a pro-Bolshevist meeting which had led to a riot. Explaining that a well-dressed woman had come in a fine automobile to make arrangements for the use of the auditorium, he added, "Had we noticed then, as we do now, that she had short hair, we would have refused to rent the hall." In [the typical lady's] mind, as in that of the manager of the Palm Garden, short haired women, like long-haired men, are associated with radicalism, if not with free love.¹

The Reaction

The women who cut off their own hair were often shocked by the loss of it. At an earlier period, said Dooley, "a girl would boast of having hair long enough to sit on, and every woman who made any pretensions to beauty had tresses that reached to her waistline. . . . The bob was a revolt against the tyranny of heavy coils of hair and innumerable hairdressing."² The typical woman went through a considerable period of misgiving before she finally decided to remove her long locks.³ When they were gone, she instantly repented.

There was a time when I had to have smelling salts on my table here, so many women felt faint when they saw their hair was gone. I remember one Frenchwoman who cried and cried. She declared she would not go home; her husband would kill her. I was almost as distressed as she was. I would have given anything to put that hair back where it was. But it was too late. That was the way with many of them then.⁴

Queen Marie of Roumania said to newspapermen that a woman's hair was once rated as her most precious possession, and added, "I cannot help but think that women will some day regret having

¹Frederick Louis Allen, Only Yesterday (New York: Harper and Bros., 1931), pp. 2-3.

²William H. Dooley, Clothing and Style (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1930), p. 399.

³One woman wrote, "The wave of enthusiasm for the Castle Clip left me unmoved, largely because of vanity and cowardice. My heavy hair was about my only distinctive feature and I had much misgiving about the loss of it." New York Times, September 4, 1921, Sec. VI, p. 6, col. 2.

⁴Pietro Raspanti, New York Times, July 27, 1924, Sec. VII, p. 10, col. 1.

sacrificed this 'crowning glory,' which cannot be regained in a day."¹

The older women were generally opposed. Penrhyn Stanlaws, artist and motion picture director, polled the presidents of women's clubs and federations over the country on the question of whether bobbed hair should be favored, and he got negative replies. One of the women called it a "pretty fashion for girls," but said that it lacked dignity for women. Another felt that it was "in-artistic and as lacking in expression as a man's derby hat." A southerner thought it proper for working girls and "flappers" but "incongruous for society women."²

Young girls often vainly begged their parents' permission to bob their hair. A court case in New York involved the foster mother of a girl who had refused to permit her to cut her hair until the girl ran away to a neighbor's house and cut it there. She was treated so harshly when she returned that the girl was rescued and sent to the Children's Society, although this was the first time the mother had been physically rough.³ A woman told the author:

Do I remember when bobbed hair came in! In 1921 I started to beg my mother to let me bob mine--I, a grown woman, didn't dare bob it without her consent, she felt so strongly about it. It wasn't until 1924 that she became tolerant enough for me to do it, and even then when I came home with it bobbed she wouldn't look at me.

Another woman wrote:

I realized then [during the War] that we have not only to fight men's prejudice against bobbed hair, but allied with them are many women of the older generation--those who cling doggedly to the customs of their day.⁴

¹New York Times, December 19, 1924, p. 18, col. 1.

²Ibid., February 5, 1923, p. 9, col. 3.

³Ibid., September 15, 1924, p. 23, col. 4.

⁴Ibid., September 4, 1921, Sec. VI, p. 6, col. 2.

The trouble that women had with themselves and their own sex was not at all as difficult as the prejudices they met among the men.

When I returned /from France/ my hair was long /again/ and has since remained so for no other good reason than that my husband is numbered among the group opposed to bobbed hair. Like the others, he is not against it. This group, I find, has no very good arguments, but prejudice consumes them. No matter how attractive a woman may look, the fact that her hair is short is damning in their eyes--she is either a short-haired fanatic or a silly young thing, and not until every woman's hair is shorn will they bow to the inevitable.¹

In the lower classes husbands reacted vigorously and positively to wives who followed the mode. One started a drunken spree because he was upset by his wife's bob.² There were a number of court cases as a result of wife-beating, and the judge had to tell the husbands emphatically that a "wife's hair is her own, she may do with it what she likes."³ One air pilot grew a beard in protest:

The debate began last November when Mrs. Page announced supper one night that she was going to get a shingle. "If you do," said her husband, "I'll let my beard grow." "Well, your face is yours, my dear," she retorted, "Spite it if you must." . . . Page's beard has grown to be five inches long since the hair-bobbing started him raising whiskers. Mrs. Page says it will be tangling itself in the propeller if he waits until she lets her hair grow.

"We'll just see what happens when hot weather comes," she said defiantly. . . . "After he's carried a mattress around his chin through the summer he'll understand how I felt before I got my bob."⁴

That the fashion had its serious side in its influence upon homes in many cases was realized by Mrs. Irene Castle, writing for the Ladies' Home Journal in 1921:

There has been so much controversy over the bobbed-hair

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., August 30, 1924, p. 9, col. 1.

³Ibid., March 7, 1924, p. 17, col. 2; April 9, 1924, p. 23, col. 2; May 21, 1924, p. 8, col. 2; May 25, 1924, p. 15, col. 3.

⁴Ibid., June 4, 1924, p. 25, col. 3.

craze. . . . I believe I am largely blamed for the homes wrecked and engagements broken because of clipped tresses. I do not wish to take the blame, because in a great number of cases I find the responsibility a serious one and the results a "chamber of horrors."¹

The suicides reported in connection with bobbed hair seem to have been cases of maladjustment in which the factor of hair was incidental. An Ohio school teacher's wife and her grandmother cut their hair together.

The young wife's husband a teacher in the Backtown rural school, objected to bobbed hair and threatened to leave her if she followed grandma's advice. . . . When he failed to appear at a late hour his wife, accompanied by her father, went to the school. The body of her husband was found on the floor of the building. He had ended his life by swallowing poison.²

He had declared that he would not come home; there was nowhere else to go, and so he killed himself. A West Virginia high school girl who was given to despondency and under a mental strain was persuaded by friends to have her hair bobbed. "The result was disappointing to her, her friends assert, and she wept bitterly over the loss of her locks." She drowned herself in a river.³

These cases were unique, but there seems to have been a considerable objection in the business and professional world. A Kentucky hospital superintendent suspended five nurses together with the girl who wielded the shears for bobbing their hair and trying to conceal the cut under hairpins and hair nets.⁴ The superintendent of schools in Atlantic City told his teachers he did not consider the fashion appropriate for teachers in his system of schools.⁵ Two Hartford office managers objected to

¹Irene Castle Treman, "I Bobbed My Hair and Then. . . ," Ladies' Home Journal, XXXVIII (October, 1921), 124.

²New York Times, April 24, 1924, p. 21, col. 7.

³Ibid., June 1, 1924, p. 22, col. 1.

⁴Ibid., January 18, 1923, p. 10, col. 3.

⁵Ibid., April 5, 1922, p. 2, col. 7.

employing girls with short hair.¹

Girls and women are finding difficulty both in getting and in retaining employment, employers, it is said, having come to the conclusion that tresses thus abbreviated are indicative of peculiarities not compatible with strict attention to business and high efficiency.²

In England a hospital, restaurants, and department stores issued notices that all employees were ordered to allow their hair to grow.³ That the girls who had short hair were not so attentive and efficient in business as those with the earlier style of hair-dressing may have had some basis in fact. A study was made at the University of Arizona in 1924 of the relation of length of hair to grades. It was found that long-haired girls made the best marks, "but," insisted the Dean, "I refuse to be quoted as to which is the cause and which the effect."⁴ Another argument given by business men was that short hair was not dignified and must be concealed to uphold the appearance of the concern.⁵

Those clergy who opposed the fashion mentioned it only incidentally in connection with a far greater concern over the moral implications of low-cut gowns, short skirts, rolled hose, facial dressings, and close dancing.⁶ The Cardinal of the New York Diocese considered it as "submitting to the tendencies of the age and letting down the bars."⁷ An evangelist in Washington

¹Ibid., July 9, 1921, p. 9, col. 5.

²Ibid., "Editorial," October 26, 1923, p. 16.

³Ibid., September 15, 1923, p. 16, col. 3.

⁴Ibid., March 30, 1924, Sec. IX, p. 8, col. 8.

⁵Ibid., July 9, 1921, p. 9, col. 5.

⁶Literary Digest, LXIX (May, 1921), p. 61. The President of a southern university stated: "The low-cut gowns, the rolled hose and short skirts are born of the Devil and his angels, and are carrying the present and future generations to social chaos and destruction."

⁷New York Times, October 12, 1924, p. 26, col. 3.

who made a slurring remark about "bobbed hair sissies" found a choral strike on his hands.¹ A Lancashire clergyman in England was emphatic:

Are our girls ashamed of their ears? . . . Why do they hide them? The fashion of "bobbed hair" (why not mobbed?) stands in need of some explanation. . . . Will bobbed hair interfere with the ear's intended service and usefulness? If it does, this hair fashion is a sin against the body, a crime against society.²

Much greater than the fear that bobbed hair would injure hearing was the dread that it might create baldness among women in future generations. A Paris "medical authority" experimented on one case and declared that from it he drew the conclusion that bobbing one's hair did not improve its growth.³ A tonsorial journal warned, perhaps from this evidence, that if women continued to cut their hair they would become bald.⁴ In the United States the President of the Master Hair Dressers' Association declared:

The claims of hygiene have been set forth in defense of the bob. . . . I disagree altogether. Women have taken, since the bobbing fashion became almost universal, to the wearing of small, snug hats, preferably of felt or other unventilated fabric. The cropped head with the close-fitting hat is an unhealthy combination, which we believe responsible for unadorned masculine skulls.⁵

A German scholar was authoritative on the subject, insisting that women would compensate for the loss of hair by developing beards:

"As woman exercises more and more other functions formerly belonging to man," Heilbron writes in the Berlin Morgenpost, "she also begins to assume a masculine growth of hair." He cites Buckman, Brandt, Friedenthal, and other anthropologists as authority for his statements that there has been a decided increase in the number of bearded women and expressed the belief that families wherein generations of women bob their

¹Ibid., November 15, 1924, p. 1, col. 4.

²Ibid., February 12, 1922, Sec. VI, p. 9, col. 1.

³Ibid., May 11, 1924.

⁴Ibid., May 11, 1924, Sec. IX, p. 2, cols. 7-8.

⁵Ibid., March 4, 1926, p. 34, col. 2.

hair will develop bearded women as a parallel phenomenon.¹ To these dire predictions the irrepressible Pietro Raspanti replied that bobbing would go on forever. "Frankly, he predicts the advent of bald women, adding with complaisance that in that day neither men nor women will care. Freedom is the great essential thing."²

In spite of opposition the fashion spread all over the world. In England a wartime play, Dear Brutus, featuring Faith Coli in short attractive curls, is said to have led in creating the vogue.³ By 1926 one-half of all the women in England and Wales were estimated to have bobbed their hair.⁴ Three years earlier in Paris over fifty per cent of the women of the West End wore bobs, as was easily apparent by glancing over any restaurant or dancing room. "It is in vain that husbands, fathers, and lovers protest. Only the women of the working class seem to want to keep their hair long."⁵ The storm arrived in Germany in 1924 when a few Berlin women were willing to cut their hair to fit the Paris hat styles, although most of the noble families were exceedingly conservative in matters of style.⁶ A girl caused amusement by declaring that a footpad had accosted her and cut off her hair before being driven away by her dog, and so she had to wear a bobbed style.⁷ Five hundred unsuccessful candidates for motion picture roles who had long hair mobbed the few who were chosen

¹Ibid., July 13, 1924, Sec. II, p. 1, col. 2.

²Ibid., July 27, 1924, Sec. VII, p. 10, col. 1.

³Ibid., January 15, 1922, p. 11, col. 1.

⁴Ibid., January 20, 1926, p. 13, col. 8.

⁵Ibid., December 18, 1923, p. 33, col. 1.

⁶Ibid., May 11, 1924, Sec. II, p. 5, col. 8.

⁷Ibid., July 4, 1924, p. 6, col. 1.

and had bobs. In 1926 a Society of Long-haired Maidens was formed:

The campaign is marked by no little bitterness. Even the widespread animosity in Germany against Premier Mussolini of Italy is being capitalized. The Society's members say that bob-haired girls look like Mussolini. Newspaper advertising is being used extensively. "Imagine a bob-haired Lorelei combing golden hair only six inches long!" is one of the society's jibes. "Short locks make Mother Germania look ridiculous" is another.¹

In Mexico antagonism toward the vogue spread through various parts of the Republic, and two girls who wore short hair were mobbed on a bathing beach.² In Russia various types of bobs appeared following a typhus epidemic, making the style popular.³ In Mongolia nomadic tribesmen were said to be adapting their locks to American hair styles.⁴ The Japanese hairdressers prayed at famous shrines in 1925 and 1926 for old styles of hair. "The speeches largely abused women for adopting modern coiffures, especially bobs. 'All bobbers are not dissolute women, but all dissolute women are bobbers,' one speaker declared, while the connection of short hair to loose morals was emphasized."⁵ In Prague, Czechoslovakia, hundreds of artificial flower makers were thrown out of work because girls with short hair and bell-shaped hats no longer wore the traditional blossoms in their hair.⁶

In addition to the flower makers an industry badly hurt by the coming of bobbed hair was that of making and selling hair-nets.⁷ Human hair nets were developed in Paris and made extensively

¹Ibid., March 5, 1926, p. 26, col. 6.

²Ibid., July 29, 1924, p. 1, col. 7.

³Ibid., January 25, 1922, p. 3, col. 5.

⁴Ibid., March 10, 1926, p. 32, col. 3.

⁵Ibid., June 7, 1925, Sec. IX, p. 6, col. 8; and August 19, 1924, p. 1, col. 3.

⁶Ibid., November 30, 1924, Sec. IX, p. 10, col. 3.

⁷Material on the hair-net industry was gained chiefly from the New York Times, May 7, 1922, p. 13, and August 19, 1923, p. 7.

in Vienna and surrounding villages during the latter part of the nineteenth century. German missionaries introduced the art to the Chinese of Shantung province when the decline of lace-making had caused widespread unemployment. As nets became popular a considerable business of importing them from China and distributing them sprang up in the United States. Double strand nets were introduced in 1920 and were found to be three and four times as durable as the single-strand variety. The American distributors were so busy attacking the double nets in favor of the more profitable single meshes, which they claimed to be neater and therefore more fashionable, that the threat of bobbed hair was not mentioned in the reports of their meetings. The importation of hairnets from Chefoo, China, alone was cut from \$461,399 in 1923 to \$139,881 in 1924.¹ The distributors were perhaps caught unaware.

In Germany the specialized factories that made hairpins and combs of wire, bone, ivory, tortoiseshell, and celluloid were shutting down or reducing their staffs, but the scissors-makers flourished.² An American hairpin manufacturer told a section of the National Wholesale Drygoods Association in 1926 that bobbed heads would be as scarce in five years as they had been five years previously, but he declared, perhaps with exaggeration, that more hairpins were lost from bobbed heads than had been when the tresses were long.³ A year previously a speaker at the American Brush Manufacturers' Association reported that "rapidly rising sales of women's hair brushes" indicated a waning popularity of the bob.⁴ Short hair had also caused an "alarming" decline in the sale of

¹New York Times, September 6, 1924, p. 26, col. 2.

²Ibid., June 13, 1924, Sec. II, p. 3, col. 7.

³Ibid., January 20, 1926, p. 6, col. 1.

⁴Ibid., March 19, 1925, p. 10, col. 3.

peroxide hair dyes in London.¹ Simplicity in clothing styles and in millinery severely depressed the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, corsets, and milliner's materials.² A plastic surgeon said in 1926 that women preferred to resort to plastic surgery to keep their faces as young as their coiffures and that therefore he thought bobbed hair was here to stay.³

The women's hairdressers, directly affected by the new fashion, took a strictly commercial position. They were engaged in a battle with the regular barber shops for the trade of cutting the women's hair. Many women who decided to shorten their hair went to the regular barber shops to have the operation performed rather than to the traditional ladies' hairdressing establishments, which were both higher in price and more strange to women of the middle or lower classes not accustomed to patronizing tonsorial businesses. The regular barbers, anxious to win complete monopoly for this new and profitable business, appealed to the courts to prohibit the hairdressing establishments from cutting hair on the argument that they did not have state barbers' licenses. The ladies' establishments defended themselves by declaring that they had a much better environment for women. The barbers, however, generally won, and most of the hairdressers did their best to get women to let their hair grow long.⁴

There was so much complaint about the hairdressers' opposing the fashion that many people believed the trade was responsible for the opposition. A woman wrote in 1921:

¹Ibid., April 10, 1925, p. 17, col. 1.

²Allen, op. cit., pp. 105-6.

³New York Times, March 10, 1926, p. 6, col. 2.

⁴Allen, op. cit., pp. 105-6. New York Times, November 3, 1921, p. 17, col. 3; August 23, 1921, p. 17, col. 2; June 15, 1924, p. 3, col. 6; October 5, 1924, Sec. IX, p. 2, col. 1.

I turned a deaf ear to the entreaties of the hairdresser that I think it over for a few days. . . . There is a sneaking suspicion that clever propaganda of the hairdressers has done much to hurt the cause of the advocates of bobbed hair. . . . The latest fashion bulletin says that skirts will be long, therefore, the hairdressers rush to the fore with the announcement that if long skirts are to reappear the pompadour must come also.¹

Another wrote to the New York Times, "Let us hope that the efforts of the hairdressers to eliminate the vogue of bobbed hair will not be successful."²

The American Hairdressers' Association at its annual conventions seemed to follow that familiar device in the fashion industries predicting what it wanted in the hope that the prediction would carry enough weight to become the mode. In 1921 the Ladies' Hairdressing Association recommended showing the ears and piling up the hair.³ The 1922 convention program was declared to be a study of ways of making growing hair look beautiful, as women were said to be wearied of bobs.⁴ In 1923 the program would not consider bobbed hair as it no longer existed in fashion circles, being used merely by business women and young girls.⁵ In 1924 the hairdressers predicted long hair, exposed ears, and more abundant coiffures.⁶ In 1925 the manager of the convention of the American Master Hairdressers' Association staged a revolt against these so obviously unfulfilled predictions by throwing the emphasis

¹New York Times, September 4, 1921, Sec. VI, p. 6, col. 2.

²Ibid., October 4, 1923, p. 22, col. 7. Signor Pietro Raspanti said in an interview, "Never, never will women wear their hair long again. . . . that is only a dream of hairdressers. . . . I never did want this bobbed hair. But the women would have it." Ibid., July 27, 1924, Sec. VII, p. 10, col. 1.

³New York Times, February 1, 1921, p. 17, col. 7.

⁴Ibid., June 4, 1922, p. 14, col. 4.

⁵Ibid., September 11, 1923, p. 15, col. 3.

⁶Ibid., September 8, 1924, p. 17, col. 7.

on wigs for evening wear.

[He] denied emphatically that short hair is becoming passé. It is too comfortable, he said, for women to give up, and they will continue with the bob, even though men disapprove. In fact, he said, the style has decreed that hair will be worn even shorter. There is a compromise, however. Women, he said, are using transformations and wigs for formal occasions. These accessories are fast becoming complicated, and one of the features of the show is the booth displaying the spun glass wigs in all colors and styles to match the gown.¹

That year the London hairdressers imported the "barbaric bob" to oust the barbers' plain shingle, because the new cut was too difficult for barbers.² In 1926 the president of the American Master Hairdressers' Association reverted to a direct attack on bobbed hair by declaring that close-fitting hats would lead to baldness among women. "We are much encouraged in our campaign," he said, "by the edict of Parisian fashion experts that the bob has only one more year before it."³ It was the French superintendent of the Societe du Progres de la Coiffure who made this prediction,⁴ and in Glasgow all the workers in a large hairdressing establishment were ordered to grow their hair within a year on pain of expulsion.⁵

Not all the comment while the fashion grew in popularity was by any means limited to criticism. Many were as impartial as Franklin H. Giddings' remark that "whether girls wear their skirts long or short makes as much difference as whether a man parts his hair in the middle or on the side."⁶ The superintendent of schools of Philadelphia asked in 1923 not to be bothered with questions

¹Ibid., March 3, 1925, p. 1, col. 2.

²Ibid., December 29, 1925, p. 18, col. 2.

³Ibid., March 4, 1926, p. 34, col. 2.

⁴Ibid., February 25, 1926, p. 14, col. 2.

⁵Ibid., February 27, 1926, p. 32, col. 3.

⁶Quoted in the Literary Digest, LXIX (May 14, 1921), 79.

on short hair for his teachers, saying that all that was required was that teachers dress neatly and modestly.¹ The New York Times remarked in the same year that short hair standardized women no more than did long hair, that both could be alike or individuated.² Other remarks were favorable. An Episcopal bishop of Chicago remarked in 1924 that women were criticized for "their hair, their skin, their stockings, their shoes, their skirts, their cosmetics, and their manners," but that he preferred skirts to balloons and bobs to bangs.² The Nation editorialized in 1921:

If bobbed hair for women is the shortest route to cleanliness, let it be honored; if it is cooler and more comfortable than the longer variety, let it be even more fiercely championed; and if it is an aid to beauty, let the world join hands about it and raise a chorus in its praise!⁴

The Cultural Setting

Long hair had been worn by women for a long enough period in the western world and was considered a necessary part of their attire.

In many countries where great value was attached to a profuse head of hair a variety of superstitions arose, and emblematic observances were followed with regard to it. Parents dedicated the hair of their infants to gods, as did young women theirs at their marriage, warriors after a successful campaign, and sailors after deliverance from a storm.⁵

In the minds of many in America a woman's hair symbolized one of the characteristics of a romantic concept of feminine nature which had a strong grip on the American people during the late nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth.⁶

¹New York Times, April 9, 1922, Sec. II, p. 15, col. 8.

²The New York Times consistently defended the appropriateness for women to bob their hair who wanted to. Ibid., February 6, 1923, p. 18, col. 6.

³New York Times, October 1, 1924, p. 3, col. 2.

⁴Nation, CXIII, No. 2929 (1921), 192.

⁵Webb, op. cit., p. 93.

⁶For examples of this see the chapter on woman suffrage.

Even as late as 1923 a popular American writer could say in all seriousness: "I have a conviction that the last word of souls, of the infinite, of the deeps of life, lies somewhere in the maze of a woman's heart. Every woman is to me a little wonderful."¹ It was conventional for men to speak of the mystery of women, of their intuitive ability to read a man's mind, of their defenselessness, and of the confused wisdom of their minds. It was considered part of a woman's nature to be interested in her appearance and to wish constantly to change it by changing the fashion of her clothing. But her hair was a part of her, and therefore was much more closely related to her nature than her garments. For her to cut her hair was to change her nature itself. A man's short hair and a woman's long hair were symbols of the difference between the sexes. For a woman to remove this symbolic difference indicated that she was trying to become like a man, or at least unlike a woman.²

The removal of the symbol naturally caused confusion. Those who felt that long hair was significant of the womanliness that they admired were often unaware of the nature of their feeling. Short-haired women did not fit their stereotype of what a woman should be, and they were consequently undesirable. Being undesirable for their hair, the women represented everything that was undesirable. The opponents invented objections. They called women with short hair light-headed, vain, immoral, radical. They declared that these women were unsuited to business positions and that they were leading the country away from its worthwhile

¹Frañk Crane, "How I Like a Woman to Look," American Magazine, XCIII (November, 1923), 43.

²"All this agitation against bobbed hair and short skirts may very well be the last struggle of man before his surrender to the onslaught of women for the place they are fighting to attain." From "Bobbed Heads Unbowed," by an Ex-Bobbed One. New York Times, September 4, 1921, Sec. VI, p. 6, col. 2.

traditions.

On the other hand, women were breaking away from traditions in many other ways, and the changes in their manners were alarming to many people of the time. It is likely that some considered the removal of long hair as a breaking of the last and most significant tie between a woman and all that the past had taught that she ought to have been. Therefore, as in the case of parcel post,¹ the changing of conditions encouraged the opponents of change to cling desperately to some symbol of the past.

Many writers indicate that it is useless to resist fashion change.² Fashion to them marches on its way relentlessly, unmindful of logic or attempts at social controls. To the writer, however, fashion can evidently be controlled, but the method used must be drastic. A reigning fashion "stands beyond discussion"³ only when the attention of a people is on it and when at least two social interpretations are given to it. The first is that it represents the beautiful.⁴ Secondly, it is so closely representative of the social status of the individual that he feels with Emerson

¹See above, chap. iv.

²Sumner: "The authority of fashion is imperative as to everything it touches. The sanctions are ridicule and powerlessness." Quoted in Young, op. cit., p. 195. "It was formerly believed, and the view is still common, that any style, if launched with enough prestige and promoted intensively by advertising and display, could be made a successful fashion. There is no business fallacy which has wasted so much energy and money as this one. . . If there were any kings or dictators of fashions in the past, there are certainly not any that are making a success of it today, except those who are able to forecast what consumers are going to want and then give it to them." Nystrom, Fashion Merchandising (New York: The Ronald Press, 1932), p. 35.

³Uzanne: "An ancient fashion is always a curiosity, a fashion slightly out of date is an absurdity, the reigning fashion along in which life stirs, commands us by its grace and charm, and stands beyond discussion." Quoted in Sage, op. cit., p. 214.

⁴"The style that is most likely to become a fashion is one that expresses what the people most desire, that touches the sympathies and moves the imagination of the public." Nystrom, op. cit., p. 32.

that "the sense of being perfectly well dressed gives us a feeling of inward tranquility which religion is powerless to bestow."¹ Should the beautiful be re-interpreted or should the attention of a people be diverted, then a fashion dies.² The new power must be stronger than the strength of the motives underlying the fashion movement or the effort to change is a failure.

The fashion of bobbed hair was not resisted by any threat of consequence, and therefore the efforts to resist it seem from a historical point of view rather futile. A great deal of personal expostulation occurred, in many cases serving to delay or prevent individual women from adopting the new mode. In a few cases sumptuary laws were suggested, but not very seriously.³

¹From "Letters and Social Aims," quoted in Young, op. cit., p. 197.

²The reinterpretation of a fashion is vividly shown in the following passage: "In the days of public executions, criminals sometimes elected to wear fashionable garments, and in consequence the demand for them ceased. Sometimes, again, those who were interested in the suppression of the fashion persuaded the doomed man or woman to wear a particular dress, and a judge has been known to compass the same end by ordering the hangman who officiated to deck himself in the objectionable garment. The wearing of nightgowns in the street by ladies was stopped owing to a woman being executed in her bedgown. The use of yellow starch had its death-blow when the hangman appeared in orange collar and cuffs. Black satin dresses went out of fashion because Mrs. Manning was hanged wearing one." Webb, op. cit., pp. 262-3.

In Japan attention is sometimes diverted. "In Japan when an emperor or some other member of the royal household dies, it is a fixed custom that the entire nation should go into mourning, so that the fashion movements in existence prior to this event are completely checked by the adoption of mourning costumes of the people." Nystrom, The Economics of Fashion, p. 84. It is true that one could call the adoption of mourning as that of a new fashion, but the mood is changed and uniformity is the rule. After the period of mourning, the former fashions may not return, but new fashions will arise.

³For instance, in Bath, England, a city councilman remembered an ancient powdered-hair tax and proposed a bobbed-hair tax to balance the Bath budget. New York Times, February 18, 1925, pp. 3 and 4. A report from the Austrian Tyrol of serious efforts to tax women with short hair was later declared untrue. New York Times, March 6, 1926, p. 5 col. 3; March 10, 1926, p. 22, col. 8.

The vested interests that were concerned played a minor role. The attention of the hairnet manufacturers was diverted to a struggle against an efficient brand of net. The hairdressers were the most aggressive, being anxious lest the men's barbers take away their trade. They failed to see that the new fashion would increase their business.¹

It seems likely that the resistance to bobbed hair was caused largely by a reluctance to accept the adjustments that women were making to the new requirements which social changes had established. This reluctance was symbolized by long hair, and a change in women's coiffure in turn indicated to many the passing of the old manners and morals. As they liked the old days, they wanted to retain the long hair.

¹"[One] of the theories advanced for the bobbing epidemic [is] that it is economical. . . . [That] can hardly be true, for there is the constant expense of waving, clipping, and trimming. And, besides, she must have a partiche, a transformation, a switch, a something to cover up the nape of her neck on occasion." Virginia Pope, "Bobbing Spreads to All Ages of Women," New York Times, January 20, 1926, p. 13, col. 8. In England and Wales in 1926 half the women were estimated to wear their hair short at a cost of \$100,000,000 a year more than they had spent before the fashion became popular. New York Times, January 20, 1926, p. 13, col. 8.

CHAPTER IX

RESISTANCE TO THE DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT OF HOOKWORM IN THE SOUTH, 1891-1914

Stiles' Hypothesis

In 1886 Charles Wardell Stiles, then eighteen years old, went to Europe for an education, with medical zoology as his field of special interest. He became interested in the intestinal parasite hookworm, known to European scientists for more than a hundred years. While he was in France, a French book was published, containing references to the disease and citing France, Italy, and Germany as regions where it was found.¹ From similar climatic conditions and descriptions of afflicted persons the author of this treatise inferred that hookworm probably existed in the American states bordering on the Gulf of Mexico. He added that few, if any, cases of the disease had been actually recognized, and no definitely identified hookworm parasites had ever been found in the region.

In whole regions of the South there were many thousands of cases of a disease variously diagnosed by American medical men as "chronic anaemia," "continuous malaria," and "malacia." Sunday newspapers ran sensational articles on a revolting habit of victims of malacia in eating dirt--"dirt-eaters," "clay-eaters," "brick-eaters," "resin-chewers"--usually with the implication that a moral stigma went with it. Occasionally the papers told of

¹Raphael Blanchard, *L'ankylostome duodénal et l'anémie des mineurs*, quoted in Mark Sullivan, *Our Times* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), III, 302.

cultivated persons, formerly fastidious, who after affliction with this disease pathetically adopted furtive devices to conceal their revolting habit. As a rule, however, the disease was thought of in connection with the "poor whites." Much of the medical and popular writing about dirt-eating assumed that the unnatural diet was in some cases deliberately adopted as a means of bringing about a physical condition which would justify avoidance of labor.¹

Reaction of Medical Men

When Stiles returned to America in 1891 he presented to American medical men the theory that the close association between hookworm and dirt-eating found in Europe might also be applied to research on the disease called "malacia" in the South. He encountered polite skepticism and direct disbelief. In the eyes of physicians he was merely a zoologist and therefore not so qualified to know about human disease as men who devote their lives to clinical medicine. Dr. William Osler of Johns Hopkins, an outstanding medical authority of that day in the United States, rebuked Stiles for his unorthodox theory and accused him of having reflected on the calibre of American physicians.²

Stiles used every opportunity, in his work in the Bureau of Animal Industry and in lectures in universities, to extend an interest in his theory that hookworms may have caused the southern "malacia." In 1899 a student of his while in Porto Rico with the American army identified hookworm as the source of a similar widespread malady in that country and treated thousands of cases.³

¹Mark Sullivan, Our Times (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), III, 304-5.

²Ibid., pp. 305-6.

³Ibid., pp. 308-10.

In 1901 a Texas physician found some cases of hookworm disease among the medical students of the state university. In 1902 Stiles, now a member of the staff of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, got permission to make a trip through the southern states to determine by personal observation if his theory was correct.

Popular Reaction

In this and later trips through the South his research naturally presented difficulties, for he traveled alone with light equipment and his only means of identification of the hookworm disease lay in a microscopic analysis of human faeces. The miners of Chatham County, Virginia, ran him out of town.¹

Rural folk in remote districts found occasion to wonder at the purpose of a traveller who showed an extraordinary interest in their insides. Suspicious of "furriners," especially of "city" people, they eyed him coldly. Occasionally, on approaching the cabin of a "hillbilly," he found himself waved on his way with a shotgun. So often did this happen that as the years went by cumulative experience provided Stiles with a technic to prevent guns going off in his face. He would stand stock still, smile, and say: "Now, my friend, let's talk this over." Fortunately, the illiterate, their eyes and minds not spoiled by reading too much print, sometimes have a more accurate observation and a shrewder divination of human qualities than the "educated," and Stiles's formula of directness and sincerity never failed him. More often than not, when he explained that he wanted to cure sickness if sickness was in the house, he was allowed to do as he pleased, watched by puzzled but friendly audiences.²

He gathered enough conclusive evidence to indicate that the disease was widespread in regions with sandy soil near the Gulf.

In December, 1902, Stiles addressed a convention of physicians and sanitarians at Washington on the prevalence of uncinariasis americana in southern regions of the United States. The so-called "poor white trash," he said incidentally in the course of his address, were probably not inherently lazy, for their energy

¹Ibid., p. 313.

²Ibid., pp. 317-18.

was being consumed by hookworms.¹

A young newspaperman reported the address to the New York Sun, which ran a story next day with the statement that Dr. Stiles had found a germ responsible for human laziness.² Accounts were telegraphed to Europe and throughout America.

Some of the newspaper treatment was serious, taking the form, in part, of interviews with physicians. That, however, was minor compared to the explosion of facetiousness.

Editorial writers, professional jokesmiths, cartoonists pressed the starter of imagination; newspaper rhymesters took up the challenge to their ingenuity inherent in the technical name of the new disease:

The Microbe of Sloth

I for long had believed that, concerning my case,
There existed much popular haziness;
I for years had felt sure it was grossly unfair
To regard as a failing my laziness;
Now, the truth has come out, thanks to good Dr. Stiles,
And 'tis proved how unjust a strong bias is,
For I, if you please, for my idleness scorned,
Have been suffering from uncinariasis!

Of course, I've been lazy--who wouldn't be so
Who has known what the "hookworm's" fell trail meant?
Who wouldn't, I ask, who's endured all his life
A confounded six-syllable ailment?³

Such "hookworm verse" became a recognized category of contemporary doggerel; in the offices of Puck, Judge, and Life, and in the fraternity of newspaper humorists, "hookworm jokes" became a staple commodity:

A dog belonging to a Virginia mountaineer howled so loudly it attracted the attention of a passerby who inquired, "What ails that houn'--sick?" "Naw--hookworm." "Hookworm! I didn't know that hurt." "Doesn't--dawg sitting on a burr--too lazy to get up, so he howls."

Among the thousands of jokes, cartoons, comic strips, and the countless parasangs of hookworm hectameters and dactyls, it was an editorial in the Salt Lake City Herald that most accurately expressed the precise American shade of humor--mild jeering, softened by tolerance, touched indeed almost with envy:

Are you troubled with "that tired feeling"? Have you a settled aversion for getting up in the morn'g to start a fire in the kitchen range? If you have, folks say you

¹Ibid., pp. 290-92.

²Ibid., p. 294.

³First printed in the London Truth.

are lazy, don't they? Well, they are wrong. The trouble with you, although you may not have known it until now, is that you have uncinariasis.

Uncinariasis? Yes; it's a disease. Dr. Charles Wardell Stiles is the discoverer. He has just returned from a sojourn among the laziest people in the world, the "crackers" of the South. Lazy? We beg their pardon. Those fellows are suffering so terribly from uncinariasis that they wait for the apples to fall off their trees, and then ask somebody to pass the fruit along. . . . Almost any fair day you can see on the corner of Main and Second South Streets whole droves of men who are in the very last stages of uncinariasis. Day after day the poor fellows stand around, looking at other people work. At intervals they go home and eat, provided the neighbors have sent in anything, but the rest of their time they put in just standing around.¹

The imagination of the humorists adventured into whimsical speculation about the possibilities of an "anti-laziness" serum that would convert office-boys into paragons of diligence, energize "weary Willies" into captains of industry. The New York world announced, with a wink, the discovery of a hookworm antidote, "staphylococcus anti-uncinariae," discovered by "the eminent Prof. Weissnichtwarum," and described by him "in an article on Faulheitskur in the Vienna Wochenschrift für Physiologie und Psychologie," which was "produced by cultivating to a state of absolute perfection the germ of insomnia in a gelatine of agar-agar, a colorless oriental plant, stimulated with exhibitions of tincture capsicum and nitroglycerine." "English physicians," said the world, "acting, it is understood, upon representations made by the Home Secretary and the Premier, have cabled to their professional brethren in New York and Washington saying that under no circumstances shall any of the anti-laziness serum be given to J. Pierpont Morgan. 'He has our ships now,' they pleaded, 'and if he takes any of the Staphylococcus anti-uncinariae his activity will be so increased that he will seize our railroads, our mills, our banks--aye, even the crown itself and the lion on the flag.'". . . .

Some of the serious comments chided [Stiles] for a "sensationalism" for which the newspapers themselves, not the modest scientist, were responsible.²

The public apparently was not interested in the hookworm disease apart from using it as a basis for humorous attacks on laziness--a traditional subject for American jokes.³ In

¹Salt Lake City Herald, December 9, 1902.

²Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 293-9.

³*Ibid.*, p. 295. "This trait of Americans was their adjustment to reality, their compromise by which they made a livable bridge between their austere ideals of theology and education and the realities of human nature. When Americans were, so to speak, intellectually and morally on parade, when they were at church or in school, they solemnly extolled the virtues of diligence; but

scientific circles Stiles' official reports published by the Government Printing Office were scarcely noticed.¹ His efforts to interest Congress failed. Since the cure for hookworm was simple and inexpensive--requiring only a few doses of thymol and a purgative--he carried for several years his own supplies with him when he went alone to gather further evidence on his southern travels.

The Rockefeller Program

In 1908, while traveling for President Theodore Roosevelt's Commission on Country Life, Stiles happened to be in the same smoking car with Walter Hines Page, editor of the World's Work Magazine, and Henry Wallace, then editor of Wallace's Farmer. Wallace noticed on a station platform a dejected adult figure, his body small in proportion to his limbs, fingers, and swollen joints, his shoulders hunched, his neck attenuated, his skin greenish yellow, and his stomach swollen. Stiles reported later the conversation:

Wallace: What on earth is that?

Page (sadly): That is a so-called "poor white."

Wallace: If he represents Southern farm labor the South is in poor luck.

Stiles: That man is a "dirt-eater." His condition is due to hookworm infection; he can be cured at a cost of about fifty cents for drugs, and in a few weeks' time he can be turned into a useful man.

Page (astonished): Is that really a hookworm case? Can he really be cured? You can make a healthy man out of that wreck? Good God! Stiles, are you in earnest?²

After a long conversation on the subject Page became active and aroused the attention of John D. Rockefeller's philanthropic associates.

¹Charles W. Stiles, Report upon the Prevalence and Geographic Distribution of Hookworm Disease (Uncinariasis or Anchylostomiasis) in the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903).

²Sullivan, op. cit., pp. 319-20.

The announcement, early in November, 1908, that Rockefeller would give \$1,000,000 to combat hookworm, started the newspaper humorists on a second installment of the gibing with which they had greeted Stile's "germ-of-laziness" address six years before--with the South substituted for Stiles as the chief victim of the jeering. Walt Mason, one of America's most fecund newspaper versifiers, devoted one day's outpouring of his muse to his vision of what was about to happen in the South:

He was a mournful looking wreck, with yellow face and scrawny neck, and weary eyes that looked as though they had monopoly of woe. Too tired to get his labors done, all day he loitered in the sun, and filled the air with yawns and moans, while people called him Lazybones. One day the doctor came, and said: "Brace up, my friend! Hold up your head! The hookworm, deadly as an asp, has got you in its loathsome grasp! But I will break the hookworm loose, and cook its everlasting goose! Swing wide your mouth, and do not cringe--" and then he took his big syringe, and shot about a quart of dope, that tasted like a bar of soap, adown the patient's yawning throat-- "I guess I got that hookworm's goat!" One gasping breath the patient drew, and bit a lightning rod in two, and vaulted o'er his cottage roof; and then, on nimble, joyous hoof he sped across the wind-swept plain, and burned a school and robbed a train. The doctor watched his patient streak across the landscape sere and bleak, and said: "It makes my bosom warm! What wonders Science can perform!"

The spectacle of hard-headed old John D. Rockefeller co-operating with a scientist-discoverer to make war on laziness was pictured as very, very funny. Humorist Irvin Cobb wrote a satire in terms of a prize-fight: "Kid Rockefeller versus Battling Hookworm. . . . winner to take all Rockefeller's going after him blood raw." Cobb, himself a Kentuckian with a sympathetic understanding of the South, fell thoughtlessly into what the South justly regarded as a habitual attitude of the North, a jeering which the sensitive South resented as an addition of the insult to the North's long-practised cruelties of "Reconstruction":

But it's a question in my mind whether [the people] down South want the hookworm dispossessed from their midst by a rank outsider from the North. From what I can learn, intimate association with Brer Hookworm and his interesting household is productive of most soothing languor. The owner of one of these pleasant little domestic pets doesn't care whether school keeps or not. All he craves is the shady side of the house, a couple of hound pups for company and a little bait of hoe cake a la pellagra three times a day. Sometimes he won't even drink coffee for breakfast, because it's liable to keep him awake all morning. Just give his wife all the washing she can do and let his kids have steady places on the night shift of a cotton mill, and he's too happy for words. His greatest physical exertion is voting the Democratic ticket once a year. But just picture what'll happen to his peace of mind when some Yankee comes around and deprives him of his private zoo. "My poor man," says the interfering

stranger, "you have been freed of your affliction. You are no longer a slave. Go forth and seek employment." But the hookwormer won't agree with him. He'll resent being filled with a sudden and uncomfortable restlessness that'll start him out hustling for a job. With him slavery and work are synonymous, and if anything work is the more synonymous of the two.

Similar examples of Northern newspaper humor, not untouched in some cases with malice, caused some of the South to react in resentment: "Sir [wrote a former president of the Georgia Bar Association] to the Columbus, Ga., Enquirer-Sun up to 1865 nobody ever thought of charging the South with being lazy. . . . Then came the Civil War, the outgrowth of Jealousy. For four years the lazy (?) indolent (?) South fought and successfully fought the whole world" (sic). The Macon, Ga., Telegraph pointedly asked, "Where was this hookworm or lazy disease, when it took five Yankee soldiers to whip one Southerner?" Bishop Candler of Atlanta, a long-time critic of Rockefeller, sermonized against and urged the South not to permit the Rockefeller work to be carried on.

To much of the South, Stiles, with his Rockefeller backing, "appeared in the light, not of a deliverer but another dam Yankee bent upon holding the South up to ridicule. And they abused him with the proud fluency of which only a self-righteous Southern rhetorician seems to be the master."²

Of all the abuse heaped by the South upon Stiles, as well as Rockefeller, the most violent came from Florida. There was a special reason. Stiles, in accounts of the symptoms of hookworm, had enumerated what had been called by other observers before him "Florida complexion."³ To a community just beginning to think of itself as a winter health resort that was enflaming. The editor of a Tampa, Fla., newspaper attacked Stiles in an editorial and threatened him with lynching if he ever set foot in that State. Somebody sent a copy of the paper to Stiles, who read it, packed a valise, and left at once for Tampa, went to a hotel and registered under his own name. For a week he loitered about the streets, and visited near-by rural schools, accosting people who to his practised eye appeared to be suffering from hookworm disease, and getting them to allow him to make microscopic examinations. When he had incontrovertible evidence of the existence of the disease in and around Tampa, he sent word to the editor who had attacked him, relating what he had been doing and what the results of his investigation had been, and added: "The lynching may begin when you are ready."

The editor called on Stiles, dined with him, spent half the night talking hookworms, and became a convert. Next day his paper published a generous retraction.⁴

The Rockefeller Sanitary Commission for the Eradication

¹Honorable Henry R. Goetchins, October 3, 1909.

²Charles Wardell Stiles, Hygienic Laboratory Bulletin, quoted in Sullivan, op. cit., p. 327.

³Sullivan, op. cit., pp. 325-28.

⁴Ibid., p. 329.

of Hookworm Disease began its work with great consideration for Southern feelings. When it was established Rockefeller had called together a joint meeting of scientists and Southern leaders of thought and said to them:

My pleasure of late has been to spend a portion of each year in the South, and I have come to know and to respect greatly that part of our country and to enjoy the society and friendship of many of its warm-hearted people; it will therefore be an added gratification to me if in this way I may in some measure express my appreciation of their many kindnesses and hospitalities.¹

The Commission gave lectures and demonstrations and engaged in many conversations with local groups and individuals. It prepared items for Southern newspapers, enlisted the cooperation of Southern physicians, and selected local state directors. The opposition gradually died away.

As the work of the Commission progressed, the meaning of the phrase "hookworm infection" became less and less associated with the American conception of laziness in the minds of the American public. Rather than making it a butt for humorous sallies, they began to think of it as a serious disease.

¹Sullivan, op. cit., p. 329.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESISTANCE: ITS RISE

The formation and growth of resistance to social innovations is the major problem of the present discussion. It has been stated that causes are complex and interlocking. The various influences and pressures involved in determining lines of action seem to arise from the contemporary scene and from the whole social heritage. This makes a separation of the various aspects of the situation difficult, for each must be considered in its relationship to all of the others.

When, however, the seven cases of the study are compared in their entirety, rather than in specific details, there appears a common pattern of resistance. Some of the cases reveal a more extended pattern than others, and all of them present many variations from the common outline. It is now proposed to consider the formation and growth of resistance of the seven cases grouped together as it appears in composite form.

Stated in its simplest terms, the pattern of resistance is as follows: When a social innovation first appears in the social order, either as an immanent change or as a proposal made by those who favor it, the initial reaction of the public is likely to be indifference because of a failure to see significance in the innovation. Later, as the public begins to consider the change significant, that is, to build up relationships between it and other aspects of the social order, opponents of the innovation appear. The first to oppose the change are those who have special interests which they conceive to be threatened by the change.

Public debate begins and the opponents tend to band together, supporting each other in the position of resistance which they develop. From this support comes organized resistance, officers are appointed and professional propagandists and lobbyists may be hired to develop a campaign to defeat the change. Appeals are made to the public, and the significance of the change may increase until it becomes a major public issue, and the indifferent tend to become proponents and opponents of the change. In the cases of this study the final stage is the disintegration of resistance, and an eventual forgetting of the innovation as a social problem, the opponents and the general public turning their attention to other interests and other problems in the social order.

The Background of Indifference

An innovation often has no significance in the minds of the public when it first makes its appearance. It may be a proposal for a formal change made by reformers who favor it, or it may appear as an immanent change introduced by those who have adopted it. The phrases "parcel post," "postal savings depositories," and "rural free delivery," for instance, mean little or nothing to a person who hears them for the first time and has not yet stopped to consider their implications. Certainly "incinariasis" was a word that had no meaning to the American people until it had been defined and its implications had been explained. Likewise in the pre-war years busy New Yorkers passed by the bobbed-haired girls of Greenwich Village without giving them more than a passing thought.

Of course, the innovation may reach the public in contexts that have been defined. Simplified spelling, for instance, appeared in the newspapers in 1907 with editorials censuring the President for introducing it.

Indifference results from a failure to see significance in an innovation which seems remote and of little importance. During most of the years in which Stiles endeavored to interest American medical men and the public as a whole in his theory of the prevalence of the hookworm disease in the South, the reaction was one of indifference. The theory itself came from Europe, and since there has often been more or less of a gulf between European and American medical research, a European theory applied to a European disease was too remote to arouse the interests of American doctors. In addition to this, the welfare of the Southern "poor whites" was of no special concern to the general American public at the turn of the century. Anyone who did show an interest was told that they were poor because they were lazy and that only they could life themselves out of their indolence; it was useless for others to help them. With this explanation satisfactorily settling the problem of the Southern "poor whites" in the minds of most Americans, little interest was shown when Stiles began to suggest the possibility of action, since it was too firmly believed that nothing could be done.

The failure to see significance in an innovation is usually caused by preoccupation with other interests in the social order. As has been pointed out in the above instance, the medical men were occupied with their own research. The attention of the American public was taken up by vexing national problems which to them seemed far more urgent than what Stiles had to say about some people who were many miles away and did not seem to be of much importance in society. Try as he would, Stiles could not get the attention, much less the interest, of even the few people necessary who had the power to make his discovery significant.

If there is any response at all, it is likely to be one of amusement, with attention on the action of the participants

rather than on the goals toward which they are striving. The indifferent person may pause to watch the woman suffrage pickets at the gates of the White House and then pass on with a smile and some quips about their efforts to resist arrest. He may be interested for a moment in a newspaper account of a riot in Mexico City against two bobbed haired girls on a bathing beach and then turn the page. He may laugh at a joke made at the expense of Stiles or of the Southern "poor whites" or both, and then pursue other topics of conversation. To him simplified spelling may only seem ridiculous as he sees it in the hands of the newspaper wits.

From the foregoing it may be inferred that indifference is a change-resisting attitude. Amusement may have a fatal effect on the efforts of the proponents of an innovation by making them appear absurd and robbing their cause of dignity or importance. As long as there is indifference, arguments and appeals fall on deaf ears. If acceptance of the innovation depends upon the interest of those who remain indifferent, achievement of the change is impossible.

Indifference has an inverse relationship to interest: as public interest rises indifference decreases; as public interest fades indifference grows. In the long history of the woman suffrage movement there were periods when popular interest was at a low ebb, and the chief reaction of the American public was one of almost complete indifference. When state campaigns aroused local interest, the indifference momentarily disappeared, only to reappear after the campaign was over. In 1920, however, the year in which the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified, public interest in the question became so intense that there were probably few voters who were indifferent. Indifference to postal savings also lasted for many years. In 1861 the first appeal for the establishment of a postal savings system came from a patron of the Pittsburgh

Post Office, and in the 1870's the postmasters-general began to recommend the system in their annual reports. In 1878 at a mass meeting of the depositors of the closed Sixpenny Savings Bank of New York a resolution was passed asking the federal government to provide a safeguard for the savings of the poor. Soon bills to provide for postal savings were introduced in Congress. These were shelved or killed in committee. Gradually, however, over a period of many years, interest in the question began to grow, and indifference to decline.

Indifference, a failure to see significance in a change and a preoccupation with other interests in a social order, is thus seen to lie in the background of resistance to social innovations.

The Rise of Active Resistance

The first expression of active resistance to an innovation comes from those who have interests in the social order which they conceive to be threatened by the change. These interests may be goals whose attainment they think might be obstructed by the innovation. When President Roosevelt ordered the Public Printer to adopt the use of certain new spellings, certain jurists protested because, they said, the new spelling would interfere with the interpretation of old laws and render obsolete legal accuracy--"the letter of the law." They were interested in legal traditions and not in simplified spelling. Scholars also protested because they felt that the new spelling would not only break traditional standards of orthography but would also weaken literary traditions--the interest of people in the classics. The scholars were interested in the preservation of literary traditions, not in the reformed spelling. Some British commentators protested because they said that differences in British and American spellings might

create a greater distance of accord between the two countries.

All these people naturally had other reasons for resisting the new spelling in addition to those they gave, and even the avowed reasons given may not have been the basic causes of their resistance. The exact nature of their reasons and the exact definition of their various interests in many cases would require some psychological analysis, but the relation between their resistance and their interests is clear. Jurists, for instance, have an interest in the preservation and the development of legal practices in connection with which they have developed other lines of interest built around their private lives, their homes, their children, recreation, religion, or related to what they conceive to be the national welfare. All of these interests taken together represent their world, from which they view the common welfare. In other words, the breadth of their point of view may be measured by the breadth of their own personal interests. Those who objected to simplified spelling were not interested in it per se, but they were concerned with the preservation of other interests which they had and which they conceived to be interfered with by simplified spelling.

Each individual has his own sphere of interests, casual or transient, or in the background of his daily life, to be called to the fore only on certain occasions. Some may be more prominent in his consciousness, especially those directly connected with his livelihood. He may be a member of a group held together by common interests. The closeness of the bonds of the group may be determined by the strength of those interests.

Groups are united among themselves by special interests not common to others. For instance, saloon proprietors in small towns in the western states may have common interests relating to their businesses, fourth class postmasters in these same towns

may have another set of interests of their own, while the merchants may have different kinds of interests. In so far as the interests of each group are differentiated from the others they may be called special interests.

Various groups may also have common interests which they pool together when they consider their affairs threatened by some outside force, as happened in Indiana, incidentally, in 1900 when a number of groups combined to oppose the establishment of rural free delivery which they thought would hurt their businesses. They developed a campaign, solicited the support of friends, drew up petitions, got signatures, and stirred up interest until a hundred small towns united in active protest against the establishment of the new governmental service. Another example of a special interest group appears in the opposition of upper class women to woman suffrage. Not all the women of this class were opponents, but those who were felt that they had interests in common. They may not have been aware of the extent to which their interests were peculiar to their group (and many of their interests were indeed common to other groups); yet, as expressed in their meetings and their published literature, their point of view revealed the concern they felt in upholding their position in society, their seclusion from responsibility, their interest in private charity, and their concern lest the status of women in the hierarchy in which they stood at the top would be shaken by the social change.

Groups with common interests often organize. The American Brewers' Association serves as an illustration of this. Formed in 1862 to consolidate the interests of brewers when the federal government had imposed a one dollar per barrel war tax on beer, this association guarded the interests of its members from that time on, supporting those movements which were considered in their

favor, and opposing those which it believed worked against their interests, as in the instance of woman suffrage which it opposed for fifty years.

When a special interest group is united by an interest intense enough to be dominant in the lives of its members its protest against a change may be immediate and strong, if it perceives that the change will hurt its welfare. The proposal of the innovation and its implications may come as something of a shock; they get together and compare their various interpretations and views of the innovation; the significance of the change increases in their minds as they discuss it; they resolve to protest, and start action. In this way they initiate active resistance.

Not all resistance, however, originates from special interest groups. There may be individuals with dominant interests who do not belong to any group, who are not even aware of any group interests regarding a movement. Some people, for instance, who resisted simplified spelling gave no reasons for doing so, and it may be that they could not have defined them had they tried. They simply said that they did not like the new spelling and therefore clung to the old. It is clear that the old spelling forms had become so closely associated with their desires in life that they considered that the new forms would obstruct them.

A list of dominant interests of individuals and groups which cause them to resist changes would be very long, for the spread of interests is wide, as is revealed in the cases of this study. Older people have different interests than young people, as illustrated in the tendency of older women to resist bobbed hair more than did the younger ones. Men's interests differ from those of women, and it caused them also to resist the same fashion. Interests may differ among occupational groups, social classes, races, nationalities, and so on. For instance, Chinese and

European immigrants tended to vote uniformly against woman suffrage in the light of the attitudes that they had brought with them to the United States from their foreign backgrounds. Interests also differ in different sections of the country, as shown by the fact that people in the eastern part of the United States tended to resist woman suffrage more than did those in the West, and Southerners resisted it still more than did Easterners. Interests vary also according to periods of time, as shown by the fact that during the Civil War the cause of woman suffrage was dropped because it was believed to be against the national interest to push the movement at that time.

However, no matter how interests and interest groups may differ or how separated they may be, the process used in developing active resistance to a social innovation is the same. They are all groups playing somewhat difficult roles in a complex and rapidly changing civilization. The pressures exerted upon them come from many directions, both in the contemporary scene and from the social heritage. From their total backgrounds and environments they develop attitudes which they express toward the one aspect of life which at the moment claims their attention--the innovation. Between their attitudes and their observations they draw a deduction: that the innovation will threaten a dominant interest, and they oppose it, just as the clergymen opposed bobbed hair because they considered it detrimental to morality.

From the background of initial indifference, then, dominant interest groups arise in protest against an innovation which they conceive to be a threat against their interests. They no longer consider the innovation of little or no significance. They have built up relationships between it and other aspects of their world and the innovation has become important enough to warrant efforts to prevent its acceptance. When they become active in opposing

it they not only resist it themselves but endeavor to persuade or coerce others to resist it also. They have become opponents of the innovation.

The rise of active opposition has thus been traced. In the seven cases of this study we also find the existence of proponents of the innovation. With the existence then of both proponents and opponents it is now appropriate in this logical construction of development of resistance to consider public discussion of the issue.

Public Reaction

The determination to resist the innovation on the part of those who do not spontaneously perceive a threat to a dominant interest follows a somewhat different pattern from that of a dominant interest group. As long as the issues of the innovation seem remote and unimportant, they remain primarily indifferent. The innovation seems unreal, for no important interests seem at stake and there are many other problems and interests in the social order which are successfully bidding for public attention. Among many of the working class, for instance, woman suffrage may have been a remote issue. Election days came only rarely in the general pattern of the daily activities, and there was a good deal of skepticism as to how effective the individual voter was in the face of organized machine politics. The selection of candidates for office and even elections were "settled behind the scenes" anyway, and there were far more important economic problems to be met than whether or not women should go to the poles on one or two days every year to express their choice between one machine politician and another. Even if women had the privilege, they might go and then again they might not; and if they went how much better off would they be? To these people it was a matter of

little importance whether the women had that privilege or not. This point of view may also have been shared by other classes, and as long as woman suffrage seemed a remote question little popular resistance arose.

As the active opponents and proponents began debating the issue, however, associations began to be built up between the innovation and various social values, and the change became significant. Whether or not an innovation is accepted becomes a matter of importance, and a decision seems necessary.

The process of decision on the part of those who are at first disinterested is a more casual and more unstable one than that of those who consider themselves vitally concerned.

The direction of attention.--Although interest seems to be the decisive factor on the part of those who spontaneously resist an innovation, attention determines the issue among those who are more or less disinterested. The object of attention seems to be more important than the logic of the situation, for the disinterested are more likely to react to some one aspect which catches the imagination than to make a careful survey of all the features, as shown in the opposition of many members of the working class to woman suffrage when told that if women got the vote men would have to do the housework. Therefore the appeal of the orator is effective, for he persuasively draws the attention of his audience to whatever aspect of the problem to which he desires their response. Successful appeals to specific aspects of a problem are shown in the following devices:

1. Interpretation of tradition. Both opponents and proponents appeal to tradition. Traditions as collective symbols of social values may not be questioned for they are considered important by nearly all people in a society. The interpretation of these traditions into concrete behavior, however, is what arouses

debates. For instance, the establishment of parcel post and postal savings was declared by the proponents to be the logical product of American ideas of democracy and liberty because people have the right to ask their government to perform those services which they wish, and if they are denied this right both democracy and liberty have been destroyed. The opponents declared with equal vehemence that political liberty without industrial liberty is impossible, that these services infringed on the rights of industry and therefore destroyed liberty, that they also went against the Constitution, the guardian of both democracy and liberty, and thus threatened American representative government. The proponents said that postal savings would encourage thrift for it would safeguard the savings of the poor and thus encourage them to lay money aside; the opponents argued that it would discourage thrift because it would deprive people of the higher interest rates that the banks offered and thus remove the incentive for saving. So the debate went on.

A tendency was also evident for one side to call attention to certain traditions and for the other side to appeal to other traditions. Those who opposed postal savings called it a denial of individualism, freedom of private initiative, and an attack against the structure of American business upon which the prosperity of the country depended. The proponents on the other hand spoke of humanitarianism, security, and freedom from crime as being forces which favored their reform.

2. Creating points of view. Another method effectively used by opponents is to appeal to local sentiments, problems, or prejudices in the arguments given. For instance, the farmers of Iowa were led to believe during a state campaign prior to a referendum on woman suffrage that the only women who wanted to vote and were pushing the suffrage movement were city women. If they

were successful in obtaining the franchise they would immediately vote for higher state taxes to build hard surface country roads so that they could take joy-rides through the rural areas while the farmers working in the fields paid the bills. The suffragists assert that this argument was so widespread and so firmly believed in many rural areas that it was in large part responsible for the defeat of the referendum. Again, the commercial travelers were told that if the parcel post service were introduced, half of them would lose their jobs, so they sent representatives to Washington to protest in the Senate Hearings against the enactment of the pending bill. That they did so at the suggestion of others was apparent in their testimony, for they failed to defend the position they represented.

3. Importance of priority. Another way in which attention is effectively directed, either purposely or by accident, lies in the vigor with which the first impression is made. If the public is led to believe that the innovation is highly undesirable, the proponents are of necessity thrown upon the defensive and thus have the disadvantage. This may be seen in the difficulty the woman suffragists had in trying to win support in the South. Southerners had been led to believe that votes for women would result in enfranchising the Negro women and would make them the equals of white women and so disrupt Negro-White relations. To this idea they held doggedly. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, the most eloquent of the woman suffrage leaders, did her best on one occasion to alter their view. She pointed out that Negro women and white women were already political equals in the sense that neither had the franchise and that the white women were also in a position of political inferiority to Negro men. She made her point with great force, for she was a powerful speaker, and she won a round of ringing applause from her Louisiana audience, but later they apparently

went back to their old position. As another illustration, one of the reasons why the simplified spelling experiment failed in 1907 was the way in which the public learned of it. Publicized with disapproval and with ridicule, the whole thing was made ludicrous and had to be abandoned.

4. Disparaging the proponents. Ridicule may appear spontaneously in a society when its attention is turned toward something that is new and therefore strange and contrary to the accepted ways of behavior. It may be for this reason that the same process can be used with strong effect by those who resist change who desire to influence public opinion, because laughter is such a natural response toward deviants from the folkways. The personal characteristics of those who favored woman suffrage was ridiculed and the women subjected to various epithets such as "unsexed women," "cranks," and "naggers." In a more serious vein they were accused of being socialistic and of associating with radicals who were endeavoring to tear down the best American institutions and destroy the finest traditions. Parcel post and postal savings were said to be furthered by undercover agents who desired their own profit at the expense of public welfare, politicians who were exploiting the people to their own advantage, and rival groups who wanted to increase their own profits. The reform movements themselves were declared to be agencies for the overthrow of the social order. When attention is focused on such points of view it is very likely that the change will be rejected.

5. Other devices. The above methods by which attention may be obtained and directed are illustrative of the ways in which the indifferent are aroused to resist an innovation. There are many other ways in which this may be done, such as appealing to authority, developing social pressure to coerce the proponents into conformity, and spreading rumors and misinformation concerning

the nature and the purpose of the innovation. Some characteristics of resistance which may be heightened through conscious direction have been mentioned in the preceding chapter on social change. A few others will be considered in the following chapter. The purpose here is to indicate the importance of the role of attention in developing public interest.

Resultant activity.--When the attention of people has been directed toward some aspect of an innovation which is portrayed as being disadvantageous and therefore somewhat of a threat to the social order, the situation does not rest there. Some, though skeptical of the interpretation, may nevertheless resist because they feel that the statements of the opponents, although false in themselves, may have some truth behind them. Others may simply accept the statements and resolve to have nothing to do with the innovation. Some may go further and do some thinking of their own based on the various statements and opinions they have heard. If the innovation is a social threat, they may think something ought to be done about it, and they may join the ranks of those who actively oppose the introduction of the change. Many farmers who were personally acquainted with village postmasters and business men not only refused to accept the services of rural free delivery but also signed petitions protesting against it and attempted to stir up further opposition. In the so-called Mob Convention in New York in 1853 many men and boys strongly influenced by newspaper and pulpit attacks on woman suffrage bought their way into the suffrage convention and turned it into chaos by shouting and jeering and preventing the speakers from being heard. The limited number of cases of this study do not reveal the many ways in which expressive public behavior may appear, but the point here is to indicate how it appears. The first who actively oppose an innovation are those with dominant interests

which they conceive to be threatened by the change. They not only reject it themselves but attempt to influence others to reject it, and others who accept their views join them in opposing the innovation. It is now appropriate to move on to a discussion of how organized resistance grows.

CHAPTER XV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESISTANCE: ITS GROWTH

It has been seen that the initial reaction to a social innovation usually is indifference. As special interest groups rise in protest against the change, public discussion occurs and inroads are made on the ranks of the indifferent. Some of them may become proponents of the innovation, but others are drawn into the camp of the opposition. Some of these new additions to the opponents may simply refuse to accept the innovation. In this type of passive resistance they are like the indifferent with the exception that they attribute more significance to the innovation. Others may not only refuse to accept the innovation themselves but also actively attempt to prevent others from accepting it. Meanwhile the special interest groups are consolidating their position.

In a study of the growth of resistance the key to the problem is the development of opposition among special interest groups. They are the ones that resist the innovation most strongly. They try to influence public opinion against the change. A measure of the growth of public opinion as opposed to the change is often closely related to the growth of organized group resistance. Therefore, in order to make this logical picture of the development of resistance clearer the chief emphasis will be placed on the organized groups that resisted the innovations and tended to lead in the movement of opposition.

Group Resistance

In beginning an analysis of organized group resistance to social innovations, it may be well to list all the groups which were found actively to resist the innovations of this study. This list is not exhaustive, for the concept of group may be made broad or narrow as desired. The groups that offered organized resistance are starred:

I. Parcel Post

- *1. Manufacturers, jobbers, wholesalers and retailers, representing over three hundred business concerns.
- *2. Commercial travelers' associations.
- *3. One Cent Letter Postage Association, representing certain book publishers and big businesses.
- *4. Congressional and other advocates of more drastic parcel post legislation.
- *5. Democratic members of Congress opposed to the Parcel Post Act as a Republican measure.
- 6. Many newspapers.

The railway express companies and their associated railway companies are not listed among the groups opposing the parcel post legislation because no direct evidence could be found of their opposition.

II. Postal Savings

- *1. The American Bankers' Association and many individual bankers.
- *2. Congressional sympathizers with the bankers.
- *3. Congressional and other advocates of a more drastic law.
- *4. Democratic members of Congress opposed to the Parcel Post Act as a Republican measure.
- 5. Many newspapers.

III. Rural Free Delivery

- 1. Congressional delay.
- *2. Major officials of the Post Office Department.
- 3. Minor officers of the Department sent out to administer

the delivery.

- *4. Fourth class postmasters.
- *5. Star route contractors.
- *6. Business men in small villages and their friends.
- 7. A minority of the farmers.

IV. Bobbed Hair

- 1. Many women immediately after the loss of their own hair.
- 2. Many older women.
- 3. Parents of young girls.
- 4. Men--employers, husbands, fathers, brothers.
- 5. A number of school principals and members of boards of education.
- *6. Ministers--incidentally in connection with their "Moral Crusade."
- *7. Women's hairdressers.

V. Simplified Spelling

- 1. Many scholars.
- 2. Harvard University and some other educational institutions.
- 3. Opponents in England who expressed a concern for British-American relations.
- 4. Newspapers and newspaper wits.
- 5. Judges and lawyers.
- *6. Democratic and conservative Republican opponents to President Roosevelt.

VI. The Hookworm Disease

- 1. Medical men.
- 2. Some Southern "poor whites."
- 3. A Southern mining town riot.
- 4. Newspapers and newspaper wits.
- 5. Southern business men.

VII. Woman Suffrage

- 1. Many men--ministers, educators, newspaper editors, husbands, fathers, brothers.

- *2. Machine politicians.
- 3. Foreigners-- Chinese, Germans and other Europeans.
- 4. Transient labor and Negroes.
- *5. Liquor interests.
- *6. Upper class women.
- *7. Corporations.
- *8. Many state legislators, governors, and members of Congress.

Of the forty-four groups in the foregoing list, twenty-one offered organized resistance to the changes of this study. The twenty-one groups seem to fall into four main categories: First, those who favored the innovation but differed from the successful proponents in the form that it should take. Here may be listed those members of Congress who, wanting more drastic provisions for parcel post and postal savings, voted against the measures that were put through Congress. Second, those who developed independent organizations of their own to defeat the innovation. Third, those who were inspired or coerced into opposition by the second group. In this third group may be placed Congressional sympathizers with the bankers, the wholesalers and retailers; the Commercial Travelers of America who were obviously under the influence of the wholesalers in their protests against parcel post; manufacturers who were persuaded by the brewers to oppose woman suffrage (although other manufacturers may have done so independently). Fourth, those whose resistance was only incidental or ritualistic while their interests were elsewhere, as evidenced by the members of Congress who voted against a bill because it was sponsored by a rival political party.

Of these four classes of organized resistance the second group is the most significant in this study of the development of resistance. The groups that built up independent organizations of

their own to defeat the innovation may be listed as follows:

I. Parcel Post

1. Manufacturers, jobbers, wholesalers, and retailers.
2. The One Cent Letter Postage Association, representing certain book publishers and big businesses.

II. Postal Savings

1. The American Bankers' Association and many associated bankers.

III. Rural Free Delivery

1. Fourth class postmasters.
2. Star route contractors.
3. Business men in small villages and their friends.

IV. Bobbed Hair

1. Hairdressers.

V. Simplified Spelling (none)

VI. Hookworm Diagnosis (none)

VII. Woman Suffrage

1. Machine politicians.
2. Liquor interests.
3. Upper class women.

From these groups the strongest resistance appeared. It is proposed in the following pages to combine them into a common pattern of the growth of organized resistance to social change.

For the sake of clarity in this discussion of the growth of organized resistance the subjective aspects of their activity are separated from the objective. In the following pages the position or point of view of organized resistance is considered first, and secondly, the action or tactics undertaken are discussed. The reader should bear in mind, however, that in actual historical sequence the two go hand in hand. That is, when the bankers decide to resist postal savings, they start action at once, and in the course of the lobbying, writing, and speaking they

undertake they in turn develop the logical position of their resistance. One does not follow from the other. It is difficult, however, to portray this interplay of action and thought because the records do not follow a close sequence and because in the following discussion several cases are compared together and each does not follow the sequences of the others.

A second caution is necessary. In the development of the position of resistance as presented in the following pages the element of rationality is emphasized by the writer. This is done for two reasons: First, the writer depends on the statements of the opponents as they appear in the recorded literature, and these statements tend to be phrased in rational terminology. Second, a rational presentation of the materials is simpler for the writer and more understandable for the reader. In other words, how the opponents developed their point of view is here discussed as if they had consciously thought the matter out in logical sequence, moving from step to step as they developed their ideas. It is very likely that they developed their ideas unconsciously rather than consciously, but the end result is the same, i.e., whether they used conscious processes of logic or the unconscious processes of emotional reaction, they finally emerged with a position that seemed rational to them and could have been developed rationally. What the unconscious processes were that lay behind the statements may be indirectly inferred and the reader is free to draw his own inferences from the following discussion.

The Position of Organized Resistance

Under the pressure of the impending social change each group tended to develop an organized point of view toward the innovation. This point of view showed (in those cases where sufficient material was available) a logic which seemed to satisfy the

members of the group. The logic of the position taken may appear defective when viewed objectively from another standpoint in the social order, such as that of the proponents of the change or of an impartial historian, but to the members of the group it developed satisfactory answers to all the questions aroused by the impact of the change on the special interests which united the group. As such it is composed of many interlocking statements which support each other and which, if well worked out, render the members almost impervious to arguments of proponents of the innovation or to those of impartial bystanders.

The following are characteristic of the position taken:

The importance of the special interest in society.--The point of view is essentially determined by an existing prejudice in favor of the special interest which unites the group, which the group endeavors to defend. The retailers in opposing parcel post spoke of their stores as having built up the small towns which were the heart of America and the basis of American prosperity and morality. The merchant not only built the town but he held it together by linking it with the great sources of supply and consumption in the cities and by generously contributing to local institutions, the schools, the churches, the hospitals, and to the poor. The bankers declared that the American banking system had supported the great industries of the country which were the best in the world. As one of them put it:

There has been no interest in the country since its organization that has done more for the upbuilding of the communities, for schools, and all purposes which enterprises in the hands of the people can reach than the banking and moneyed interests, which are in one sense the sinews of the country.¹

The book publishers considered the writing and publishing of literature the center of American culture and the cornerstone of American education, knowledge, and wisdom. The women's hairdressers

¹See p. 58.

emphasized the importance of beauty and their part in keeping society attractive. The brewers, with their strong German traditions, spoke of beer as a pure, wholesome, and temperate drink, and that which brings joy to life.

The health officers in Indiana, New York, and other States have found out that the modern brewery is par excellence a model pure food establishment. . . . The finished product is purer than the mountain spring. . . . Beer is the one universal temperance beverage, which is at once wholesome and palatable.¹

The upper class women believed that they represented the best section of the country. They were the mothers of the future leaders, they led in social activities, and the benefits they gave society through private charity and the setting of social standards could hardly be measured.

Under the pressure of the impending social change the group is made more self-conscious. Not only do they tend to call their interest the cornerstone of civilization but they indicate their deep respect for each other by thinking of the members of their group as being among the finest in the culture. They associate with each other for companionship and a mutual exchange of information and opinion. The anti-suffragists held parlor meetings where members spoke on current political and social problems. The brewers came to conventions where the orators dispelled any doubts they might have developed concerning the nobility of their fellowship. The bankers, the wholesalers, the publishers, and the retailers also had annual meetings to share their common sentiments and to become informed on current affairs.

The innovation threatens the interest.--In each case the group insisted that an adoption of the change would cause great injury to the special interest. The wholesalers and retailers believed that the introduction of parcel post, even within the

¹See p. 162.

severe limits of a high rate and an eleven pound weight limit, would greatly benefit the mail order houses of Chicago to the great detriment of the independent stores. The brewers thought that women, being associated with the Women's Christian Temperance Union, in their minds, would assist in bringing about prohibition through the ballot and thus drive them out of business. The One Cent Letter Postage Association declared that parcel post would cause a greater deficit in the revenues of the Post Office Department and thus make the possibility of a first class postage rate of a penny more remote. The fourth class postmasters, the star route contractors, and many village business men feared that the introduction of rural free delivery would put them out of business or severely injure village business. The bankers declared that postal savings would draw money away from the banks into the post offices:

The Postmaster General naively says: "These postal savings banks will not compete in any way with our present banks." He thinks he is stating a fact, doubtless, but as well might a highwayman, emptying a repeating Colt at you, say: "I am shooting these bullets at you, but I do not intend to hurt you in any way."¹

The innovation is unnecessary.--The special interest group tends to identify its own welfare with the social welfare, and as it does not think it needs the innovation it declares society does not need it. The bankers pointed to the safety of American banks, particularly with regard to the savings banks of New York State, whose losses to depositors had been very slight when measured on a percentage basis of the amount of money deposited. The anti-suffragists liked to emphasize the point that the American woman did not need the ballot.

All education, all philanthropy, all society are her demesne, and it seems to me it is wide enough without the pretense of government, where she could only drop a ballot, and could not enforce the law which that ballot is meant to stand

¹See p. 65. (For this and certain subsequent internal references, see the complete dissertation, which is on file in the University of Chicago Libraries.)

for.¹

The retailers thought that rural free delivery, which they had the privilege of using, would provide the farmer with local delivery of parcels and thus make unnecessary any shipment of them through the mails. When a banker was asked if the poor did not need postal savings for the sake of security, he answered that in his part of the country there were no poor.

It is unwanted.--The tendency of the members of an interest group to turn to each other for companionship and information may result in considerable social isolation. As they respect and trust each other they are likely to declare that the opinions their members develop on social questions are particularly sound. They also say that they are in an exceptionally advantageous position to discover public opinion and the facts of social problems. Retailers asserted that the country store, with its cracker barrel philosophers, was closer to the center of American thought than any other institution, and wholesalers added that the way to get a first-hand knowledge of the public reactions to any current issue was to ask the retail merchant. Society women felt that their many social contacts and the wide variety of people they met--travelers, lecturers, business associates of their husbands, college professors, and others--members of their own class--gave them a keen insight into the structure of the social order. Brewers believed that when men got together in saloons away from the influence of women they spoke frankly. Bankers considered the president of the small town bank the best informed man in the community.

These people seemed to be unaware of the fact that although they had many associates they tended to get their information from members of their own class. They often insisted with apparent

¹See p. 180.

sincerity that an innovation was not wanted in the face of widespread popular demand because they and their friends did not want it. Following the bank panic of 1907, popular insistence on some form of governmental security for savings deposits swept the nation and yet the bankers agreed that very few people wanted it. One made an extended business trip in which he carefully asked many small town bankers whether there was any desire for postal savings in the small towns. Each banker replied that he had not been told by any of his friends of any such desire. The banker returned from his trip convinced that the public did not desire postal savings, and he so testified at the Senate hearings.

Because of their isolation the members of these interest groups tended to regard as unimportant, or even non-existent, aspects of their social order which did not fit into their conception of society which they constructed from their interests and their associates. Dr. Shaw, the woman suffragist, commented quite bitterly in a Senate hearing upon the statements of the upper classes that all women were protected:

And that is where we women have lost all along, not by the antagonism of men, but by the guardianship of men. The idea that we are under tutelage, that we are taken care of, that a woman who works sixteen hours a day is supported.¹

The beneficiaries are unworthy.--If, on the other hand, those parts of the culture which do not fit into the conception of society built up by the interest group cannot be forgotten or ignored, the tendency is to interpret them in unfavorable terms. Those who are said by the reformers to benefit from the innovation are declared by the opponents to be unworthy of these benefits. The wholesalers and retailers spoke of the farmers as being mesmerized by the printed advertisements from mail order houses and the need of protecting them from mail frauds by preventing them

¹See pp. 175-6.

from having a parcel post service. The bankers considered the chief beneficiaries of postal savings to be "the thriftless who can never learn thrift" and the foreigners:

The intelligent foreigners do deposit their savings with the banks of this country, and we do not understand why there should be such solicitude for that superstitious and anarchistic class of foreigners, who scarcely have intelligence enough to buy a foreign draft or postal order. What is needed is better immigration laws. . . .¹

The proponents are to be questioned.--A strong prejudice develops against the proponents of the innovation. They may be described as good people who have been misinformed or misled, or who develop pretty but harmful plans for "the benefit" of others. The Bankers' Journal insisted that the question of postal savings was raised by political opportunists who stirred up popular support for their own advantage. A representative of the bankers said that the only popular demand came from radical labor unions, which were incensed against corporations and banks. The wholesalers and retailers were sure that requests for parcel post were stirred up by undercover agents working for their own profit. Often, however, vigorous language was used. The reformers are described as unsexed women and feminine men, fanatics, cranks, and crooked profiteers, whose opinions are the misinformation of warped minds or deliberate falsehoods designed to deceive the common people. The rise of emotion that appears among members of a special interest group against the proponents may be expressed in personal attacks against their persons. They may be called dangerous radicals who intend to utilize the innovation as a means of destroying the social order.

The doctrine of woman suffrage came first from Europe and was an offshoot of the rising agitation of communism and socialism. . . . It was introduced into New York in the Woman Suffrage Convention by Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and a Jew

¹See p. 63.

of her friends. Since then it has been agitated in the East by a growing party of radicals often with atheistic tendencies In the latter part of the last century it was taken up by Populism. . . .¹

The innovation injures society.--Since the special interest is considered the cornerstone of the social welfare, an innovation that injures it injures society as a whole. The interest is linked so thoroughly in the minds of the group with the worthwhile institutions of society that the imagined downfall of the interest group which results from injury from the change will cause a collapse of the entire social order. Details are furnished of how one by one each of the associated institutions will crumble if the special interest is damaged by the change. The end result is therefore pictured as a devastated society.

The wholesalers and retailers, as revealed by repeated testimony from various representatives, believed that the instant the parcel post limit was raised from four pounds to eleven, panic could reign in financial circles. Thousands of storekeepers would be faced with bankruptcy. The banks would close, real estate prices would crash, the population of rural towns would decline, and even farm values would decrease. Suffering from isolation, the farmer would sink to the level of a shiftless backwoodsman, and the children of villagers would migrate to cities where they would be put into sweatshops. Schools would suffer, churches would close, and socialism and anarchy would be the order of the day.

A similar pattern of resulting social destruction appeared in the testimony of the bankers. Some of the opponents of rural free delivery thought that it would break up the country. Many of the anti-suffragists showed in detail how the advent of woman suffrage would step by step injure the church and charity, increase

¹See p. 185.

divorce, destroy the home, promote free love, break down democracy, and finally result in atheism and anarchy.

Consolidation of the position.--As the opponents developed this picture of the social ills resulting from an adoption of the innovation, they showed a tendency to accept any evidence they received that favored the position they took and to reject as untrue evidence which tended to weaken their stand. If it is found that certain social heretics favor the innovation, then it is branded as being radical. They develop long arguments to indicate that all the benefits claimed by reformers for the innovation are really evils and all the evils against which the reformers railed are really benefits. Bankers liked to point to the social necessity of dividing risk between the corporations and the public, and therefore that the depositor should shoulder the chance that his bank would fail; or that failing banks penalize the unwary and thus teach them a lesson in business judgment or teach them the folly of trying to get a high interest rate. Hairdressers spread stories that bobbed hair would cause baldness among women. Retailers pointed out the many benefits which a community received when customers paid more in a retail store for articles which they could get more cheaply from mail order houses, and of the benefits of coming into town for the mail. Brewers spoke of the many advantages of beer over spirits, and called their beverage the true temperance drink.

The attitudes which the opponents develop seem to persist in the presence of contrary evidence. When a representative of the retailers declared that the mail order houses for selfish reasons were stirring up the public to demand parcel post, he was told that there was no evidence before the committee that that was true. He answered, "Well, we are pretty well convinced that they are. That is our supposition, and we are convinced, and I think

it would be hard to convince us to the contrary, because they can see the advantages they would derive from it."¹

Confidence.--As the conception of the total situation involving every aspect of the impact of the change on the special interest group becomes complete in the sense in which it provides ready answers to any query, the opponents indicate a confidence in themselves that they have the good and the true picture of the situation. All that is necessary is to tell the public of their view, and if the people will but hear it the reformers will be defeated. So the American Brewers' Review assured its readers that all that was necessary was to let the truth be known.² The bankers continually pointed out the truth of their stand, and wholesalers and retailers wanted to set the public right on the problem of parcel post.

There were many assertions of sincerity and unselfishness in their efforts to defeat the reformers. The brewers thought of themselves as working for true liberty and democracy. A business man under oath before a Senate committee was asked if he really believed that social destruction would follow the introduction of parcel post. He answered, "Yes, sir." Then: "You state that with all seriousness to the committee?" "I do; yes, sir."³ The bankers repeatedly asserted that if they were the only class to suffer while the country benefited from postal savings, they would not protest; they were true patriots out for the good of the public welfare.

It was with an apparently wholehearted conviction that they were engaged on a moral crusade to rid the country of the

¹See p. 41.

²See p. 163.

³See p. 49.

great evil that the special interest groups organized their opposition. As champions of the social order they built up an organization and contributed heavily to it to defeat the insidious forces promoting the innovation. To them whatever methods were necessary to accomplish this purpose was justified by the great end of saving society from destruction.

To what extent these statements represent the genuine views of all the opponents and to what extent they are efforts to impress the public is a question that is difficult to answer. The sincerity of the majority of the members seems beyond question, but it is also likely that there were those among them who were less convinced by the logic of the position taken than they were by the effectiveness of the appeal.

The Tactics of Resistance

The chief problem of this study is how a position of resistance develops, as outlined in the preceding paragraphs. What action arises following the development of this stand against a social innovation is the result of the attitudes that have arisen which are antagonistic to the change.

The methods used by those who oppose the changes of this study are essentially the political devices employed by any group that has a point of view which it endeavors to impose on society. The purpose is to dominate the social order with a point of view and a program for action. The extensiveness and thoroughness of the methods used reflect the intensity of the desire to defeat the innovation and the resources which the opponents can command to achieve that end. The tactics used by the various groups reflect the character of the individual group and its conception of the general social situation with which it has to contend.

In the early days of the suffrage movement the women who

opposed woman suffrage made discrete protests in occasional suffrage rallies, but for the most part they conducted private parlor meetings. For women to go out and address public mass meetings seemed highly unsuitable behavior to them, and any contact they had with the lower classes was of a personal nature with an air of kindness and condescension rather than of a public character with the purpose of petitioning for a favor. Therefore they invited groups of selected guests to their homes to listen to informal discussions or prepared speeches by men who opposed female suffrage. When they wrote pamphlets expressing their views they did not in the early days sign their names, for women who were authors were open to a certain amount of notoriety. They also felt that they could not distribute the pamphlets themselves, as that would be unsuitable behavior, so they secured men to do the distributing for them. Later they became bold enough to sign the privately printed leaflets they wrote and to publish an occasional article. They also began to testify at legislative hearings and to speak in meetings, and by 1912 they were holding anti-suffrage conventions, but they were careful to avoid "the masculine behavior" of the women suffragists.

The village postmasters, business men, and star route contractors of Indiana got their patrons to fill out long petitions addressed to the Post Office Department protesting against the establishment of rural free delivery. They also stirred up neighboring small towns to action. These apparently continued the movement until soon the Department had heard from a hundred small towns in addition to receiving many letters of protest from individuals. That the device was effective is indicated by the quickness with which efforts were made to quiet the protests by continuing the fourth class postmasters and star route contractors and thus allowing those farmers who desired to do so to come into

town for their mail.

The ladies' hairdressers relied upon a device that is well known in the fashion industries. At their annual conventions they announced that bobbed hair was going out of style and predicted that within a year it would be gone. They vainly hoped that their predictions would influence the trend. The hairdressers also attempted to persuade individual women not to cut their hair.

The medical men who opposed Stiles privately hinted that he reflected on the integrity of medicine and publicly disavowed his theory. Some miners in Virginia in a sudden riot ran Stiles out of town, and a newspaper editor offered to have him lynched if he ever came to Florida. Scholars wrote learned articles pointing out the flaws of simplified spelling, and hostile newspapers used the issue as a means of ridiculing President Roosevelt.

The tactics of these various groups reflect the means at their disposal. Three interest groups, however, which had far greater resources, developed more extensive resistance. They were the bankers, the wholesalers and retailers, and the brewers.

Secrecy.--According to the woman suffrage historians the brewers through most of their fifty years of opposition kept no records of their anti-suffrage activities. They destroyed canceled checks as soon as the banks returned them; they kept no minutes of their meetings, no lists of their employees, and carried out all their plans by word of mouth. The suffragists called them "the invisible enemy" because they kept so effectively in the background that they could often be detected only by the results of their actions. State campaigns often promised overwhelming success for a suffrage bill, with a wide popular following, the promise of the governor's support, and pledged majorities in both chambers of the legislature. Then, after decisively passing one chamber, the bill would die in the second chamber, being

suddenly and mysteriously defeated by a narrow margin of one or two votes. In one campaign that began very promisingly, as most of them did, legislators who had promised to speak at suffrage meetings would suddenly start making excuses and avoid their suffrage friends, and a chill went over the state suggesting the eventual failure of the issue. In western states floating labor turned up at the polls by the thousands to defeat a suffrage referendum. The suffragists could only guess in these instances that the liquor interests were again at work.

Pressure from the bankers on both houses of Congress to defeat the postal savings bill of 1910 has been indicated in the records, but there is no direct evidence. Similar pressure exerted to prevent the passage of the Parcel Post Act of 1912 is indicated by the difficulties which faced the proponents in getting it through Congress.

The cloak of secrecy, in all these instances, has been so effectively used that the writer cannot present a consistent account of the tactics employed. He can only indicate the various types used.

Propaganda.--The purpose of the propaganda of resistance is to direct the attention of the public to unfavorable aspects of the innovation and keep it there. Some of the devices used have been indicated in the preceding chapter. Others may be inferred from an earlier discussion of the influences of social change on resistance.¹

A favorite method of the brewers was to use other organizations as a front for their publicity. Their effective exploitation of the various women's anti-suffrage associations has been shown

¹See chap. xiii.

in the materials. Their agents often delivered the pamphlets which the women wrote, and their money was used to advertise anti-suffrage meetings. They also worked in close collaboration with the public utilities, the railroads, and various other business organizations. They developed propaganda organizations with names not associated with their trade, such as the Civic Liberty League, the Manufacturing and Business Association, and The National Association of Commerce and Labor. An outstanding example of this type of activity is shown in the Texas Business Men's Association, which was supported by railroads, public utilities, well known breweries, and various manufacturing concerns. Its purpose was to influence public opinion in favor of the concerns that supported it. It furnished plates for rural papers, disguised under the name of a farm organization; and with such nationally known, and apparently innocent, contributors as T. N. Carver of Harvard, it presented an educational program that pretended to discuss impartially both sides of current questions. Actually it furnished arguments for public service corporations, increases in railroad rates, and the defeat of woman suffrage. The suffrage material was usually sentimental: "God pity our country when the handshake of the politician is more gratifying to a woman's heart than the patter of children's feet."¹

Another device of the brewers was to win the support of their manufacturers through pressure buying. In 1915 they sent a list of forty-nine firms, many of which were nationally known corporations, to their members with the request that these concerns should not be patronized because they were "unfriendly."

The bankers and the distributors seemed to rely chiefly on speeches and articles, and on soliciting the support of the

¹See p. 159.

press. They also sent representatives to Washington to testify at Congressional hearings.

Political blocking.--Efforts to prevent the acceptance of the innovation by political obstructions, as revealed in the cases of this study, took the following forms: the use of political machines and the marshalling of voters at elections; the bribery and intimidation of legislators; and direct political pressure.

The close alliance of the brewers with many political machines is indicated in the records of the suffragists. This alliance is likely because the political machines also tended to resist woman suffrage. In New Jersey in 1915 the suffragists promoted a strong campaign but won only those places in which they had done no conspicuous work; wherever they had been in evidence the party machines, they said, carried the vote against them. In Oregon in 1884 "railroad gangs were driven to the polls like sheep and voted against" them. Sometimes the brewers used a direct approach by sending out letters to all the retailers in Oregon in 1906:

It will take 50,000 votes to defeat woman suffrage.

There are 2,000 retailers in Oregon.

That means that every retailer must himself bring in twenty-five votes on election day.

Every retailer can get twenty-five votes. Besides his employees, he has his grocer, his butcher, his landlord, his laundryman and every person he does business with. If every man in the business will do this, we will win.

We enclose twenty-five ballot tickets showing how to vote.

We also enclose a postal card addressed to this association. If you will personally take twenty-five friendly voters to the polls on election day and give each one a ticket showing how to vote, please mail the postal card back to us at once. You need not sign the card. Every card has a number, and we will know who sent it in.¹

Legislators, as has been indicated above, were often persuaded through bribery or intimidation to join the opposition. The suffragists estimated that in Tennessee in 1920 every bribable

¹See p. 158.

member of both houses had swung to the opposition before the measure passed the legislature. It is possible that some of them were also persuaded through threat of public exposure of some personal scandal, although there is no evidence of the nature of the device used.

The wholesalers and retailers were the most effective of all the groups in the study in marshalling a direct pressure group to influence Congress in its consideration of the parcel post measure. They organized a League of Associations in 1910 whose purpose, apart from its praiseworthy statements of intent, seems to have been to further the interests of its constituents. It represented over three hundred firms and trade associations connected with distribution, and it busily rounded up many more firms to assist it in opposing the passage of the parcel post bill. It also persuaded a great many representatives to come to Washington to testify before the Senate and House committees.

CHAPTER XVII

CONCLUSIONS

Six approaches were used in analyzing the historical materials: (1) the types of resistance, (2) the types of social changes resisted, (3) the degree of resistance, (4) the influence of the changing social order on resistance, (5) the development of resistance, and (6) the role of interests in determining resistance.

Types of Resistance

Resistance may be passive or active, scattered or united. Passive resistance in general is a failure to accept a social innovation. It may range from simple indifference to stubborn refusal. When individual acceptance is a primary condition for the assimilation of the change, as it usually is, this type of opposition may be a formidable obstacle, as the case of simplified spelling revealed. Unorganized active resistance takes the form of sporadic outbursts from individuals and groups that are content merely to register protest. It may develop into organizations making for stronger and more effective resistance. Although passive resistance may be effective when it is widespread, active organized resistance is much the stronger type. Here the membership, through a process of interaction, builds up the logic of their position to the point where they conceive of themselves as defending civilization from the forces of destruction. When, as a result, they think of themselves as engaged upon a crusade, they fervently use any device they can command to defeat the forces

which desire the innovation. If they have the resources, they hire professionals to develop widespread and skillful propaganda and to delay legislative action through political blocking. A highly organized minority of the population can thus delay for a considerable period, or even defeat, the appearance of a social change.

Types of Social Change Resisted

Two kinds of social changes are revealed in the materials of the study. In five of the cases the attention of the public was aroused by plans for social change promoted by individuals and groups within the social order for what they conceived or claimed to be for the good of the public welfare. As concerted action was necessary for their adoption they may be called formal changes or reforms. The second type, appearing without conscious direction or control, brought into existence by no organized body of adherents, may be called immanent changes. Formal changes tend to arouse more organized resistance than do immanent changes. In the latter type, which depends upon individual acceptance rather than concerted action, the opposition may be widespread, but so far as the cases of this study reveal they do not arouse as persistent or intense a resistance as do the more formal type. Here scattered members of the population have already accepted the innovation before society as a whole is aware of its existence. Those who oppose it must not only endeavor to keep it from spreading, but also attempt to induce those who have adopted it to relinquish it. The opposition must restore a social condition which no longer exists. Furthermore, the unorganized and somewhat haphazard way in which the innovation appears tends to prevent organized resistance, or to disorganize it after it has appeared. Formal changes or reforms, depending upon the concerted action of

society, must therefore be introduced by a body of proponents who have united in their endeavor to persuade or coerce society to accept the innovation. The change must be discussed and, as it has not yet been accepted, the discussion must be in the future tense--in the form of predictions as to the influence of the change on society. As the change cannot be adopted until society agrees to accept it, there is usually a considerable amount of time intervening between the first proposal of the innovation and its final acceptance. It is from this situation that organized resistance is most likely to develop. An organized body of reformers presents arguments and appeals; those who disagree with their position, that is, those who oppose the reformers, see the necessity of unifying themselves and developing a counter-organization of opposition in order to defeat the change. They also develop arguments and appeals and, interacting among themselves, strengthen their convictions with the knowledge that other members of their group see the situation as they do. They have time in which to develop their position of resistance, a course of action, and an organization to carry out plans for the defeat of the innovation. The opposition simply needs to defend the existing situation; while the burden of change is on the proponents. Therefore in a reform political blocking is an effective form of resistance. It is because of the situation made necessary by the introduction of a formal change that the amount of resistance to it is usually greater than that which appears in response to an immanent change.

Quantity of Resistance

The quantity of resistance may be measured horizontally and vertically. Horizontally, it is the extent of opposition through a population, a counting of the number of people, or an estimate of the percentage of the population who are opposed.

Vertically, it is the degree of intensity of resistance, the amount of vigor with which the change is resented and attacked.

The extent of opposition is an unstable factor for determining the adoption or rejection in the case of this study. The seven cases cited here do not reveal any instances of innovations adopted by legislation in spite of popular opposition, although instances of this may occur to the reader. The cases do reveal, however, instances in which a popular majority favoring the change does not result in prompt legislative action. Popular desire is subject to pressure and is easily changed when that is strong. The pressure may come from a closely-knit opposing group or from an organized group desiring the change, or it may arise spontaneously, but it must be stronger than competing desires and interests to win popular support.

The intensity of resistance cannot be measured in terms of an objective appraisal of the effects of a social innovation upon the structure of society, or upon the welfare of a special interest group. An innovation may not be resisted by those who stand to lose heavily as a result of its adoption, and it may be resisted by those who stand to benefit from it. Although there are evidences that the influence on the social order often bears a direct relationship to the intensity with which it is resisted, a slight alteration may be opposed more strongly than one that has greater influence.

There are evidences that the intensity with which a social change is resisted bears a direct relationship to the anticipated results of the innovation. Those who are not interested in an innovation give it little significance and those who are, or become interested in it give it more significance, and when they do they give it meaning, that is, they build up relationships between the change and other aspects of their environment. These relationships

are usually expressed on a cause-and-effect basis. Although those who strongly resist consider the change highly significant, the reverse does not always occur, i.e., strong significance does not always result in action. When those who attribute various degrees of significance to an innovation are considered in the roles of the action they take or fail to take in resisting the change, four groups appear:

1. Those who vigorously resist, or who employ others to resist, who consider the innovation significant enough to make its rejection a goal worth considerable effort.
2. Those who consider the change of great significance, but who may not take action through unwillingness or inability to do so. Nevertheless, they are classed as those who resist the change if their adopting it or favoring it is a necessary requirement for its general adoption, that is, if their resistance, although passive, may be influential.
3. Those who consider the change to be of little significance and likely to take little action unless they are employed as professionals or coerced by others who consider the change important. Their opposition to the change takes the form of indifference, which may also be effective if their active participation is necessary for its adoption in the social order.
4. Those who favor a change but do not express their favor in action. Their failure to indicate positively their desire for the change may place them in the position of hindering its acceptance in the social order.

Significance is a variable quantity. It increases as more and stronger associations are built up and fades as the associations are forgotten or belittled. Only a slight social change may become so significant that it is made the sensational public issue of the day.

Influence of the Changing Social Order on Resistance

The cases of this study appear in a setting of a running stream of historical events which strongly influence the course of resistance and acceptance of the various innovations. When the public tires of discussion of an innovation the task of the proponents becomes more difficult. As the public interest in various social issues rises and falls, it serves as a variable that may wield either a positive or negative influence on the adoption of an innovation. The distraction of other interests and other social problems may rob the innovation of significance and thus retard it. Accidental associations made between the innovation and unique factors in the contemporary social setting may influence its adoption or rejection. The innovation may be strongly retarded by associations built up between it and various social conflicts. Confusion among adherents of the innovation may also delay or prevent its acceptance.

Public confusion is likely to occur, occasioned partly by misunderstandings of the nature of the innovation or extravagant claims by proponents and opponents. It may also be caused in part by a failure to understand the social order. In the period covered by the cases of this study no one really knew how the American social process worked and therefore no one could actually estimate the influence of a social change. A desire to preserve the values of an order not understood may result in a fear of change.

The Development of Resistance

When the seven cases of the study are compared in their entirety, rather than in specific details, there appears a common pattern of resistance. Some reveal a more extended pattern than others, and all of them present many variations from the common outline.

An innovation often has no significance in the minds of the public when it first makes its appearance, although it may appear in a context already defined. The reaction is therefore that of indifference, a failure to attribute significance to the innovation and a preoccupation with other interests in the social order. If there is any response at all it is likely to be one of amusement, with attention on the action of the participants rather than on the goals toward which they are striving. Indifference is a change-resisting attitude, and it has an inverse relationship to interest in the innovation: as public interest rises, indifference decreases; as public interest fades, indifference grows. It therefore lies in the background of more active forms of resistance to social innovations.

The first expression of active resistance to an innovation comes from those who have interests in the social order which they conceive to be threatened by the change. They may be aware or unaware of the nature of their interest, and they may give various reasons for their resistance that may or may not reflect the bases on which they resist. Unlike the indifferent, they attribute significance to the social innovation, which they consider to be dangerous. They therefore actively oppose it.

Although interest seems to be the decisive factor on the part of those who spontaneously resist an innovation, attention determines the issue among those who are more or less disinterested. The disinterested are more likely to react to some one aspect of the innovation which catches the imagination than they are to consider anxiously its implications. Therefore opponents and proponents alike attempt to direct the attention of the public along lines that will determine its attitudes. Both appeal to traditions, which they interpret in ways favorable to the positions they take. Local sentiments, problems, or prejudices may be

emphasized. First impressions are important, and the side has the advantage that can create these impressions. Each disparages the other, turning to bitterness or ridicule. It is through these appeals that inroads are made on the indifferent, who perceive significance in the innovation, become concerned, and join the ranks of participants.

Meanwhile the interest groups who spontaneously rose in opposition to the innovation consolidate their position. They develop a point of view which to the members of the group provides satisfactory answers to all the questions aroused by the impact of the change on the special interests which unite the group; under the pressure of the impending change the group is made more self-conscious. It is likely to exaggerate its importance in the social order to the point where it may claim that its interests represent the cornerstone of the social welfare. It may represent its members as being unusually well informed on social questions and having a particularly advantageous position with which to gauge the issue. Because the group does not want the innovation, the members may assert that no one wants it; because the group does not need it, it is asserted that no one needs it. Those who are claimed by others to benefit from the innovation are asserted to be unworthy of these benefits, and the proponents are portrayed as profiteers at the expense of public benefit, secret agents of destruction, or fanatics and cranks. The opponents consider themselves as having the truth on the matter and as representing the public welfare. Since they think the innovation will endanger their welfare they consider the public welfare jeopardized and that they are performing a public service to defeat the adoption of the innovation.

They may consider the innovation the greatest danger of the age, and organize a powerful force of resistance, hiring

professionals, spending great sums on propaganda and political obstruction. As they continue in these activities, and the proponents on their side are continuing in similar activities, the indifference among the general public tends to disappear. The public becomes divided between proponents and opponents of the change. Emotions become heightened and activities become more intense.

Should the intensity increase, resort to violence might occur, although no extensive violence appeared in the cases of the study. It is at this point or earlier in the growth of resistance that disintegration begins to occur. As soon as a conviction spreads among the opponents that further resistance is futile, adherents drop away. Some may redefine the innovation into favorable terms; others may make an intellectual adjustment while their emotions continue to resist. Other problems may distract the attention of the opponents and thus cause them to forget their fears, reducing the significance of the innovation. Organized resistance, however, tends to persist even after the cause seems hopeless.

The Origin of Resistance

It has been seen in the preceding section that the first to resist an innovation were those who conceived of it as interfering with their dominant interests. In the same fashion it may be said that those who favored the adoption of the innovations did so because they considered the innovation to be in accord with their dominant interests.

Interests are goals toward which lines of behavior have been developed. Each individual has his own sphere of interests, casual, transient, or in the background of his daily life, to be called to the fore only on certain occasions. Some may be more

prominent in his consciousness, especially those directly concerned with his livelihood. He may be a member of a group held together by common interests. The closeness of the bonds of the group may be determined by the strength of these interests. Groups may be united among themselves by special interests not common to other groups, or they may have common interests which unite them with other groups.

A list of the dominant interests of individuals and groups which cause them to resist changes would be very long, for the spread of interests is wide. Older people have interests that may differ from those of the young. Interests may also differ between the sexes, among occupational groups, social classes, races, nationalities, and so on. It has been seen that the public interests shift through a period of time. It may thus be seen that there are as many subjective causes of resistance as there are interests in society which depend for their fulfillment upon social conditions.

The intensity of resistance, it has been said above, depends upon the degree of significance attached to the change by those who resist it. If they strongly oppose an innovation they have built up cause-and-effect relationships between it and aspects of society which they consider important. In this way significance is closely related to interests, for intense resistance arises from those who consider the innovation as a threat to their dominant interests. It is the conception here that it is important rather than the actual threat, for if they do not see that their interests are threatened they will not resist, while they may also strongly oppose an innovation because of a mistaken belief that their welfare is at stake.

The many variables which influence the decision to resist in any particular situation have been indicated. Some of them

rise from shifting aspects of a changing society. Others appear as products of appeals for support from opponents and proponents. Others rise from the types of changes being considered. However, no matter how many different factors are at work and how different or separated interest groups may be, the process by which resistance to a social innovation arises is the same. All individuals and groups are playing somewhat difficult roles in a complex and rapidly changing civilization. The pressures exerted upon them come from many directions, both in the contemporary scene and from the social heritage. From their total backgrounds and environments they develop attitudes which they express toward the one aspect of life which at the moment claims their attention--the innovation. Between their attitudes and their observations concerning its nature and implications they draw a deduction--that the innovation will threaten a dominant interest--and they oppose it.

How the opponents of these social innovations resisted them may appear in many forms of behavior, but who they were and why they resisted may be expressed in a single sentence: Those who resist social innovations do so because they conceive of the innovation as threatening their dominant interests. In other words, those who resist any social change do so because they see in the change an interference with what they want life to be.

